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&c. &c. &c.

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Concinnè aliquod ſcriptum dicimus, ubi inter ſe conveniunt partes, et inter ſe reſpondent, aliud alii.—VARRO.

ORIGINAL CRITICISM.

An Inquiry into the Cauſes of Popular Diſcontents in Ireland, by an Iriſh Country Gentleman. PP. 74. 2s. Wallis, London. 1804.

OF all the inflammatory productions which have appeared in England or Ireland, ſince jacobiniſm raiſed its baleful head in Europe, this pamphlet ſeems to be written with the worſt deſign, and to have the moſt dangerous tendency. Like Mr. F. Plowden's voluminous Review of the State of Ireland, its aſſertions are founded in groſs aberrations from hiſtoric truth, in groundleſs aſſumptions, and in what logicians call *petitio principii*, and conſequently its reaſoning is ſophiſtical and deluſive. The author, after his introduction, which ſhews the general ſcope of the work, aſſigns eight reaſons for the popular diſcontents of Ireland.

In his introduction, he laments that the real ſource of the rebellions which have ſo long agitated that iſland have not been inveſtigated, and therefore that proper remedies have not been applied to prevent their recurrence. As the main object of this work is to accuſe the Engliſh government, and the Iriſh Proteſtants, of a want of wiſdom, juſtice, and humanity, towards the Iriſh Roman Catholics, at a time that the French infidels, and a band of Iriſh traitors who have enliſted in their ſervice, are endeavouring to calumniate the former in every part of Europe, we find ourſelves under a neceſſity of giving more copious obſervations on it, than we uſually beſtow on pamphlets of its magnitude. He ſays, in his introduction, "that the government

has been armed with all latitude of power, and is not reſtrained by reſponſibility; and though puniſhment has been urged almoſt to ruin, ſtill life is miſerable, property is inſecure, government is ſupported only by terror, as the moment an enthuſiaſtic leader is found, a rebellion is organized." On the whole, he imputes the conſtant and permanent cauſes of rebellion, to the want of wiſdom and policy in the laws, and to the groſs errors of Government; and he draws the following inference: "Under ſuch circumſtances, there is no great preſumption in planning a better ſyſtem of adminiſtration, for nothing can be worſe than the preſent *." He obſerves alſo, "that, though the character of the upper ranks may be formed by education and literature, the character of the lower ranks is uniformly ſuch as it is made by laws and government." In anſwer to this, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the laws in England and Ireland are exactly ſimilar; that they are executed in the ſame manner; and that the peer or the peaſant, let his religion be what it may, is equally under their controul and protection; but with this difference, that the Iriſh Roman Catholics have more civil liberty, and are under leſs penal reſtrictions, than their Engliſh fellow-religioniſts; and as the former are conſtantly prone to rebellion, and as the latter have been, for more than a century, peaceable and obedient to the laws, we may fairly infer, that the deep-rooted diſaffection of the Iriſh does not ariſe from any defect in their ſyſtem of civil polity, or from the ſeverity of the Government. Every perſon, whoſe mind is not clouded with prejudices, muſt perceive, that it flows from that degree of hoſtility, which the Roman Catholic religion generally produces in its votaries, towards a Proteſtant ſtate, and their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects. But this writer aſſerts the contrary; for he ſays, "An equal reaſon why the Iriſh peaſantry, *cæteris paribus*, ſhould not be rebels, is their religion. The Roman Catholic religion, in every country, has been found the ſtrongeſt ſupport of arbitrary power." This has been the caſe in no inſtance, except where the Government acknowledged the Pope's ſupremacy, and all the doctrines of his church; for the fundamental principles of the Romiſh religion, flowing from its general councils, which are deemed infallible, enjoin as a ſolemn and ſacred duty to its members, to reſiſt, and riſe in arms, againſt all heretical governors. In conſequence of theſe impious doctrines, many ſovereign princes loſt their lives, or their thrones, or both, from the 11th to the 16th century. They raiſed the dagger of the aſſaſſin againſt Henry III. and Henry IV. of France, though Papiſts, becauſe, contrary to the Pope's orders, they ſpared the blood of their Proteſtant ſubjects. They occaſioned many treaſonable plots in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. Popery is never friendly to tyranny, except when the latter ſubmits implicitly to the former; and

* It is well known, that Lord Hardwicke's government is ſingularly mild and conciliating, in reſpect of the *Romaniſts*.

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this never fails to produce downright ſlavery. Thus, from the union of the keys and the ſceptre, in the 8th century, when Pepin and Pope Zachary, and Charlemagne and Pope Leo III. combined againſt the reaſon and liberty of mankind, till the reigns of Lewis XIV. and James II. of England, tyrants and prieſts have endeavoured to impoſe a double yoke on the civilized world. Pope Innocent III. raiſed king John's ſubjects in rebellion againſt him, till he became his vaſſal; and, afterwards, he fulminated an excommunication againſt the Barons, for having obtained Magna Charta, the foundation of our glorious Conſtitution; and he denounced its terrors againſt ſuch perſons as ſhould obey its ordinances. That ſanguinary tyrant, Charles IX. and Lewis XIV. were dear to the Pope, becauſe they proſecuted their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects; but Henry III. and Henry IV. were hateful to his Holineſs, becauſe they would not do ſo.

The firſt cauſe which he aſſigns for the popular diſcontents in Ireland, is "the recollection of its conqueſt by the Engliſh."

It ſhould be recollected, that, though England was conquered by the Normans, the Saxons, who were the maſs of its inhabitants, did not harbour that unrelenting hatred towards them, which the Iriſh did to the Engliſh, and which the Roman Catholics do, at this hour, to their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, and to the people of Great Britain, though the Normans treated them, as a vanquiſhed people, with every kind of indignity, prohibiting the uſe of their language, and depriving the moſt of them of their poſſeſſions. The Iriſh, on the contrary, ſubmitted cheerfully to the government and protection of Henry II.; for Matt. Paris tells us, that, ſoon after his arrival in Ireland, he held a council at Liſmore, where they gratefully received the laws of England *(gratanter receptæ)*, and ſwore obedience to them *(juratoria cautione præſtita)*, which included their allegiance to the crown of England. But, as ſoon as he returned, they violated their allegiance, ran into rebellion, and excluded themſelves from the benefit of the Engliſh laws. In the reign of Henry III. A.D. 1230, they collected ſuch a force, that they flattered themſelves with the hope of being able totally to expel the Engliſh *(omne genus Anglorum, ab Hiberniæ finibus exturbare)*, ſays Matt. Paris.

Their deep rooted diſaffection, their treachery, their rebellions, and inſurrections, were the cauſe, and not the effect, of that ſevere but neceſſary reſtraint, which the Engliſh government impoſed on them, in proceſs of time.

He imputes the hatred of the Iriſh Roman Catholics, to the Iriſh Proteſtants and the Engliſh, to privations and diſtinctions, which, he ſays, "attach to their feeling the grating recollection of being a conquered people;" and, as proofs of this hatred, he mentions the very ſlow progreſs which the Engliſh language has made in Ireland, from the unwillingneſs of the people to learn it. He ſays, alſo, as a teſtimony of it, "There is no Iriſh gentleman who cannot witneſs the extreme repugnance with which all Engliſh ſtewards, Engliſh cuſtoms, and Engliſh improvements, are regarded by the common Iriſh;

and whenever I have heard them ſpeak among themſelves of the Engliſh, it has been always in terms of the ſtrongeſt averſion." As to privations and diſtinctions, it ſhould be recollected, that no penal laws were enacted in Ireland till after the Revolution; and for more than a century and a half previous to that event, the Iriſh Papiſts manifeſted a ſtrong and deep-rooted hatred to the Engliſh nation, and to the Proteſtant ſtate, by treaſonable conſpiracies, rebellions, and maſſacres, in obedience to the general councils of their church, the bulls and epiſtles of the Popes; which evinces, that their diſaffection did not ariſe from the privation of rights. They offered Ireland to Francis I. in the year 1545, when the Papiſts enjoyed as much civil liberty and political power as the Proteſtants; nay, when their clergy poſſeſſed excluſively all the church livings. The Engliſh Papiſts experienced a very different treatment; for ſevere penal laws were enacted againſt them, ſo early as Elizabeth's reign, when their prieſts were baniſhed; and at all times thoſe laws were more reſtrictive on them, than on the Iriſh. They were much ſooner repealed; and, at this time, the Iriſh Papiſts enjoy more civil liberty, and political power, than the Engliſh. This proves that the Britiſh legiſlature were not partial, in their reſtrictions on the Iriſh Papiſts. In many parts of Wales, and in the Highlands of Scotland, the maſs of the people are totally ignorant of the Engliſh language. They are very poor, and they are wedded to their aboriginal cuſtoms and manners; and yet they are loyal and obedient to the laws. When 1000 French troops landed at Killala, in Ireland, in the year 1798, multitudes of the Iriſh Papiſts, headed by their prieſts, flocked to their ſtandard; but, when about the ſame number of French landed in Wales, during the late war, the people ſhewed the greateſt zeal, courage, and unanimity in oppoſing them. In ſhort, nothing but the uncharitable, the intolerant, and diſloyal principles, which are conſtantly infuſed into the maſs of the Iriſh Papiſts, by their ſpiritual inſtructors, can maintain a line of ſeparation between them and their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, but not between Iriſhmen and Engliſhmen, as this writer untruly aſſerts.

He aſſigns, as the ſecond cauſe of the hatred of the Iriſh, "the confiſcations of property that have taken place in Ireland." This is but a flimſy pretext, to palliate the diſaffection of the Iriſh Papiſts. Immenſe confiſcations took place in England, on the invaſion of the Saxons in the 5th century, of the Normans in the 11th, and during the factions of York and Lancaſter; and in Scotland, on the rebellions of 1715 and 1745; but they did not produce that deadly hatred which the Iriſh Papiſts bear towards Proteſtants of every deſcription, both Engliſh and Iriſh.

"The diſtinctions, created by Government, in favour of the Iriſh Proteſtants, to the prejudice of the Roman Catholics," he mentions as the third cauſe of the averſion of the latter to the former. They are exactly on the ſame footing, except that the Roman Catholics are excluded from ſeats in Parliament, a few offices in the Executive Govern-

Government, and in the confidential departments of the State. Under this head, and in other parts of his work, he denominates the perſons on whom property forfeited for treaſon was beſtowed, *plunderers*, and the traitors who loſt it, *the pillaged*; and he ſays, that the rebels, who were guilty of treaſon, ſhould have obtained from the government againſt whom they rebelled, "a forbearance of injurious diſtinctions, an equal enjoyment of civil rights and privileges, religious toleration, and all thoſe common participations, which would gradually have weakened the diſtinction between *the plunderers and the pillaged.*"

For the purpoſe of inflaming the Iriſh Roman Catholics, which ſeems to be his main deſign, he makes many aſſertions which are abſolutely unfounded. They are ſo numerous, that it would exceed our circumſcribed limits to enumerate them; but the following will ſhew what little regard he pays to truth. He ſays, under this third head, that "in the reign of George I. an Act paſſed in the Iriſh Parliament, *to caſtrate every prieſt found in that kingdom.*" This fact, which is mentioned alſo in Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review of the State of Ireland, is poſitively without any foundation whatſoever. For the ſole purpoſe of irritating the Roman Catholics, he ſets forth the penal reſtrictions to which they were formerly ſubject. He admits that they have been repealed, and he ſays, "The civil diſtinctions which now exiſt call more immediately for our attention. I believe the following may be conſidered as a correct liſt. There are ſtill very ſevere laws againſt converts from the Proteſtant to the Popiſh religion, and againſt converts from the Popiſh religion, who relapſe into their original faith;" and yet he ſays, in the ſame chapter, "that Government ventures to inſult the ſect, and *thereby makes rebellion not only generous, but ſacred.*" He ſays, "the only meaſure required to redreſs the civil grievances of the Roman Catholics is, to repeal the act which prevents their ſitting in Parliament.

There is no impediment to their ſitting in Parliament, or to their enjoyment of every office under the State, *but the oath of ſupremacy* *, which is, in fact, no more than an oath of allegiance, denying the juriſdiction of any foreign prince or potentate, and which all perſons, having any pretenſion to the character of good ſubjects, may and ſhould take. It would be ſevere and impolitic, that Proteſtants ſhould be required to take it, and that Papiſts ſhould be exempt from it; particularly at a time when the head of their church is the friend and ally of Buonaparté, whom he calls "*his beloved ſon in Chriſt.*"

This writer aſſigns as the fourth cauſe of popular diſcontent in Ireland, "religious diſtinctions between the Preſbyterians and the Proteſtants;" and as to the latter, he ſays, in a note, that he alludes to the members of the Eſtabliſhed Church. The only civil diſtinc-

* The Parliament declared, in the reign of Henry VIII. that it was a declaration of the ancient right of the Crown.—State Tracts, Vol. III. p. 446.

tion between them aroſe from the Teſt Act, and he allows that it has been repealed; and yet he ſays, "that they ſtill continue to feel them [meaning diſtinctions] is very evident, and ſufficiently proves, that, in order to weaken the force of a ſect, you do nothing unleſs you remove every diſtinction." Thus this incendiary endeavours to exaſperate the Preſbyterians, as well as the Papiſts, by reviving a recollection of paſt grievances which no longer exiſt. He ſays, that "the Preſbyterians very early adopted the principle of a reform in Parliament; and had that *ſalutary meaſure* been granted to the wiſhes of the people, there never would have been a rebellion in Ireland. In fact, the Preſbyterians were the real ſtrength of the rebellion in Ireland." It is well known, that not only the maſs of the people in both iſlands, but many able ſtateſmen, were for ſome time led aſtray by an abſurd and viſionary idea, that our Conſtitution would be meliorated by a reform of Parliament; but experience, the only ſure guide in politics, has convinced them of the contrary, and unqueſtionably proved, that it would have occaſioned its ſubverſion; and yet this jacobin writer calls it *a ſalutary meaſure*. The Iriſh Preſbyterians, who are induſtrious, wealthy, and enlightened, ſenſible that any alteration in our very excellent Conſtitution would endanger its exiſtence, are at preſent among the moſt loyal ſubjects of the empire. We ſhall now refute this writer's aſſertion, that "the Preſbyterians were the ſtrength of the late rebellion." They (a few republican leaders in Belfaſt excepted) manifeſted a downright repugnance to the rebellion, which the following facts unqueſtionably prove. They ſhewed great zeal, in aſſiſting the civil magiſtrates to ſuppreſs the Defenders, a Popiſh banditti, who committed nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination, on Proteſtants of every deſcription, for ſix years previous to the rebellion of 1798. The leaders in Dublin and Belfaſt began to organize the North in the year 1791, and they continued to do ſo till the year 1795. See the evidence of *Samuel Neilſon*, a rebel leader, on oath, before the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords, p. 280. This aroſe from the difficulty of perſuading the Preſbyterians to unite with the Papiſts; and to remove it, they continued, during the above period, to ſend miſſionaries to the north, to aſſure the former, that, on the eſtabliſhment of a republic, all diſtinctions would be levelled, and that property would be equally divided. As to the provinces of Connaught and Munſter, the moſt Popiſh parts of Ireland, the writs for their organization did not iſſue from Dublin, till the ſpring of 1797, and they were reported to be well organized in the autumn of that year; for Popery gave wings to treaſon.—Ibid. 104. It is ſtated in the ſame, p. 24, that "in the months of February and March, 1798, Leinſter and Munſter were in poſſeſſion of a murderous banditti." Notwithſtanding the long and perſevering efforts of the leaders in Dublin and Belfaſt, to organize the north; not more than 2000 Preſbyterians ever appeared together in arms. The maſs of them conſiſted of the rabble who united for the ſake of plunder; and their leaders were deiſts, and of a very mean deſcription. They fought with

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valour in the field, but they never were guilty of cold-blooded maſſacres. But the perpetration of ſuch univerſally by the Papiſts on Proteſtants of every deſcription in the province of Leinſter, induced ſuch of the Preſbyterians as had been deluded, to flock immediately to the ſtandard of loyalty.

In the county of Wexford there were 30,000 Papiſts, led on by their prieſts, at the battle of Roſs, and on many other occaſions. It was proved on the trial of *William Byrne*, of Ballymanus, a Popiſh gentleman, that there were 31,000 Papiſts at the battle of Arklow, where one of their leaders, Father *Michael Murphy*, a prieſt, was killed at their head.

Many Popiſh gentlemen of education, and numbers of opulent farmers, were leaders in the provinces of Leinſter and Connaught, where the *extirpation of heretics* was the ſole object of the rebels; for during three weeks, they continued, in the county of Wexford, to maſſacre the Proteſtants, with all the ſolemnity of a judicial ſentence and execution. The author makes the following unfounded aſſertion to irritate the Roman Catholics: "They rebel only from negative reaſons—that they may not be inſulted and oppreſſed." We mentioned before that perſons of every rank and religious order are equally under the protection of our excellent conſtitution. *Dr. M'Nevin*, a Papiſt, and one of the Iriſh directory, declared in his evidence, on oath, before the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords, p. 278, "the maſs of the people in the provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught (the moſt Popiſh parts of Ireland) did not care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink which it contains, for *parliamentary reform*, or *Catholic emancipation*." *Thomas A. Emmett*, another of the directory, made the ſame declaration, on oath, before the ſame aſſembly, p. 285. In ſhort the maſs of the people do not feel, or ſuffer in the ſmalleſt degree, from the very few privations which remain. As a proof of this, we think it right to mention, that numbers of Roman Catholics, in each of the four provinces, have made very large fortunes, within a few years, under the foſtering influence of our excellent conſtitution, as merchants, farmers, and manufacturers.

He ſtates *tithes* to be the fifth cauſe of popular diſcontent, and he imputes all the petty rebellions of the *white boys*, *right boys*, *defenders*, *peep o'-day boys*, *hearts of oak*, and *hearts of ſteel*, to them. If they are a grievance in Ireland, they are infinitely more ſo in England; for in the former they pay, but in a few places, more than a 20th of the produce of the land; and in the latter the actual tenth. Were they ſold to the proprietors of the land, they would moſt certainly make them pay more. It is a matter of general notoriety, that ſuch lands in Ireland as are tithe free (of which there are large tracts in every province) are at a much higher rent, than the neighbouring lands of equal goodneſs, which happen to be ſubject to tithes. Mr. Emmett, one of the Iriſh directory, in the rebellion of 1798, declared, upon oath, before the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords, "I am very ſure, if tithes were aboliſhed, the people, on taking new leaſes, would

be obliged to pay more in proportion for land than the value they now pay for tithes." Report, &c. p. 285.

The ſixth cauſe he ſtates to be, the degraded ſtate of the peaſantry. It is univerſally well known, and it was admitted by the declarations, upon oath, of Meſſrs. *M'Nevin* and *Emmett*, that the Iriſh peaſantry do not ſuffer the ſmalleſt privations, and that their condition would not be meliorated by what is called by the vulgar, the ignorant, and the diſaffected, Catholic emancipation. He fabricates ſo many groſs falſhoods and calumnies under this head, to irritate the Iriſh peaſantry, that it would greatly exceed our circumſcribed limits to enumerate and refute them. According to him, the multitude in Turkey do not ſuffer more cruelty and oppreſſion from their ſuperiors than the Popiſh peaſantry do from the Proteſtants. He ſays, from many events which occurred in the late rebellion, the peaſantry were led to believe, "that *we* were the deſcendants of men who held it lawful to ſhoot a wild Iriſhman." The ſingular lenity of government and the magiſtrates, towards the ſanguinary wretches who were guilty of an indiſcriminate ſlaughter of the Proteſtants, and a devaſtation of their property, and which is circumſtantially deſcribed in *Sir Richard Muſgrave's* Hiſtory of the Rebellion, amply refutes this abominable calumny. He ſays, "It has not been unuſual in Ireland for great landed proprietors to have regular priſons in their houſes for the ſummary puniſhment of the lower orders;" and, he adds, "that whipping is a common mode of puniſhment practiſed by them." The meaneſt peaſant in Ireland would obtain legal redreſs for the moſt trivial civil injury; and were he ever ſo poor, there are numbers of attornies who would undertake his cauſe. We appeal to the recollection of the candid public, whether violations of the law by men of rank and property have not been puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner by the Court of King's Bench, within the laſt five years. It is well known, that the leaders of the rebellion in 1798, adopted, among other devices, the following, for two years previous to that period, to incite and ſtimulate the lower order of the Roman Catholics to riſe in arms againſt the government, and to plunder and maſſacre their Proteſtant fellow ſubjects: they propagated a report in moſt parts of Ireland, that the Proteſtants, whom they denominated *Orangemen*, were to riſe in the night and maſſacre them. This writer obſerves, "It is a notorious fact, that theſe reports were univerſally believed, that the Roman Catholic peaſantry left their houſes, and fled to the mountains; and that many of the poor wretches died from cold and hunger, ſooner than truſt to the chance of Proteſtant clemency." Nothing can tend ſo much to convince the reader of the malignity of this writer, than his groſs *inconſiſtency* in fabricating theſe calumnious falſhoods. After deſcribing the Proteſtant gentlemen as monſters in cruelty and oppreſſion towards the Roman Catholics, whoſe ſufferings he paints and commiſerates with much pathos, he ſays, in his ſixth cauſe, "*It is a remarkable fact, that the Roman Catholic landlords behave in a much more injurious, groſs, and tyrannical manner to their labourers than the Proteſtant*

Proteſtant landlords; and in general the peaſantry prefer to be employed by a Proteſtant rather than a Roman Catholic." To palliate this contradiction, he ſays, "So true is it, that a mind debaſed by oppreſſion is always moſt ready to inflict it." It is a fact univerſally well known, that Roman Catholics, farmers, labourers, and ſervants, prefer Proteſtant landlords and employers, to perſons of their own perſuaſion, becauſe the former are much more diſtinguiſhed for their ſtrict adherence to the principles of juſtice and humanity. Whenever a Popiſh chapel is to be built, the Proteſtant gentlemen never refuſe ground for its erection, and they commonly defray three-fourths of its expence by ſubſcription. Whenever there is a dearth, they take an active part, and ſubſcribe largely to prevent the evils ariſing from famine. We appeal to the inhabitants of Munſter, whether this has not often happened within the laſt thirty years. The Proteſtant nobility and gentry conſtantly aſſiſt in making collections at charity ſermons in the Popiſh chapels of Dublin, at the inſtance of the Popiſh clergy; though ſevere cenſures and penance would be inflicted on any Papiſt who ſhould be known even to enter a Proteſtant Church. The dreadful denunciations contained in *Dr. Huſſey*'s paſtoral inſtruction, againſt any member of his church, who ſhould do ſo, will convince the reader of the truth of our aſſertion. In the latter part of the ſixth cauſe this writer recommends, that "all the municipal officers of the Iriſh counties," "particularly grand jurors, juſtices of the peace, the ſheriff, and treaſurer, ſhould be annually elective." This is completely jacobinical; and it would produce endleſs ſtrife and diſcord. When the French jacobins meditated the ſubverſion of the government, the plunder of property, and the degradation of rank, they made all officers under the ſtate, even thoſe of judges, elective. The king is the fountain of juſtice and honour. The ſheriff has precedence before every other perſon in his bailiwick, and on him principally depends the preſervation of the peace, the execution of the laws, and in general the civil adminiſtration. Deſtroy the influence of the crown, by depriving it of its patronage, and the conſtitution will ſoon degenerate into a republic. The calamities brought upon England in the 17th, and on France in the 18th century, afford a ſalutary leſſon on this point.

To "the influence of a republican party" he aſcribes the ſeventh cauſe of popular diſcontent. As Roman Catholics are bound by the general councils and canons of their church, which are deemed infallible, to ſubvert a Proteſtant ſtate, it cannot be a matter of ſurprize, that the Iriſh Roman Catholics, who are extremely bigotted, ſhould cheriſh republican principles, as they are hoſtile to our conſtitution. The confederate Catholics aſſembled at Kilkenny, during the progreſs of the dreadful rebellion of 1641, and who conſiſted of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, were republicans. They arrogated to themſelves, and exerciſed, all the functions of the legiſlative and executive powers. They regulated all the affairs both civil and military of the kingdom, confronting, and at the ſame time inſulting, the king's government ſitting in Dublin. They formed a great ſeal, with which

they

they authenticated their acts of sovereignty, and their credentials, in all their negociations with foreign princes, to whom they sent, and from whom they received, ambassadors, envoys, and agents. The Papist prelates ordered the priests, in their respective dioceses, to administer to their flocks, the oath of association, framed by the said confederate Catholics, and to levy on and collect money from them; which practices were pursued by them so early as the year 1792, preparatory to the rebellion of 1798, as appears by the report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, delivered upon oath, and published in the year 1793. The said confederate Catholics assembled at Kilkenny, raised a large body of forces, appointed Lord Gormanstoun general thereof, Hugh Byrne lieutenant-general, and the Earl of Fingal, lineal ancestor of the present Earl, general of horse. Their oath of association, which was exhibited by the priests to their flocks, contained the following paragraphs.

"I will obey and ratify all the decrees and orders made, or to be made, by the Supreme Council of the *confederate Catholics* of this kingdom, concerning the *said public cause*. I will not seek directly, or indirectly, any pardon or protection for any act done, or to be done, touching this general cause, without the consent of the major part of the said council. I will not directly, or indirectly, do any act, or acts, that shall prejudice the *said cause*; but will, to the hazard of my life and estate, assist, prosecute, and maintain the same. I will not accept of, or submit unto, any peace made, or to be made, with the said confederate Catholics, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the said confederate Catholics."

In order to compel the Marquis of *Ormonde*, the king's viceroy, they prevailed on the Popish prelates, to excommunicate any persons who should obey his orders, or in any manner aid, abet, or assist him; and they conclude thus, "*we do fulminate the annexed excommunication, of one date with this declaration against all opposers of the said declaration, James-town, 12th of August*, 1650.*" Their declaration which was somewhat similar to that of the confederate Catholics, contains the following paragraph; "and we do hereby manifest to *the people*, that they are no longer obliged to obey the orders and commands of the said Marquis of Ormonde, but are, until a general assembly of the nation can be conveniently called together, unanimously, to serve against *the common enemy*," meaning the Protestant state. When they invested General Preston with the command of a large body of their forces, they prescribed, and obliged him to swear, an oath, containing the following paragraph, "to exercise all acts of hostility against the Lord Marquis of Ormonde, and his party; and to help and advise with council, and assist in that service, the lieutenant-general of Ulster, employed in the same service."

They, during the progress of this rebellion, solicited the assistance of the Pope, the Duke of Lorrain, and the kings of France and Spain;

* Borlase.

and

and they even offered the ſovereignty of Ireland to them, ſooner than ſubmit to the *Proteſtant* ſtate of England! Though they could not ſucceed in expelling the Viceroy from Ireland by their arms, they accompliſhed it by the terrors of excommunication, which compelled Papiſts of all deſcriptions, nay, even *his own relations*, to abandon him. This power, which is peculiarly terrific at this time, is often uſed by the Papiſt clergy to annoy and harraſs the king's ſubjects, and to obſtruct the courſe of diſtributive juſtice. During all theſe proceedings, they, in many of their manifeſtoes, expreſſed *the moſt inviolable loyalty to the king*. When they ſucceeded in completely ſubverting his government, they evinced a ſtrong attachment to the republic; for they preſented two addreſſes to *the Rump Parliament*, one in 1652, the other in the year 1653, in which the following paragraphs are to be found: "That they did readily ſubject and put their conſciences, lives, and fortunes, as in a ſanctuary, under the protection of this commonwealth, having ever ſince walked peaceably, and in due conformity to the Government, without the leaſt defection therein: that, contrary to your *known pious intentions*, manifeſted in the ſaid act for ſettling Ireland, they do apprehend, that they may be poſtponed or neglected: that ſeveral of them are able to make appear their *conſtant good affection and adherence to the commonwealth* *, for whom a competent time to be allowed, to make out the ſame, is moſt humbly ſupplicated †." Theſe petitions were preſented by the agents of the Iriſh, at the door of the Houſe of Commons in England, and entered by the Clerk of the Rump Parliament. It is well known, that the leaders concerned in the rebellion of 1798, and of the conſpiracy which preceded it, meant to have formed a republic on the ruins of the Conſtitution, and to have ſeparated Ireland from England, with the aid of the French. Some of theſe leaders declared this upon oath, before the Secret Committees of both Houſes of Parliament. This incendiary admits, that "the abuſes, injuries, or inſults," which he pretends that the Roman Catholics endured, were the real cauſe of this treaſonable conſpiracy and rebellion; and he therefore allows that they were the chief promoters of it; for he ſays, "Had a reform in Parliament—had a total emancipation of the Roman Catholics—been granted to the people, by the Iriſh Parliament, all the orators of the human race might have preached revolution to the Iriſh people, and would have preached in vain. If a republican party is a great cauſe of the rebellions in Ireland, yet there is none which can be ſo eaſily removed; give them no topic, in any real exiſting abuſe, by which they can inflame the minds of the people." The anſwer to this is very obvious. They enjoyed what they now claim, till the Revolution; and yet they were conſtantly guilty of treaſonable conſpiracies and rebellions, in obedience to the Pope's bulls and epiſtles, and agreeably to the fundamental principles of their

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* Who cut off the King's head.

† Lord Orrery's State Letters.

religion,

religion, for nearly 200 years previous to that period. On the breaking out of the dreadful rebellion in 1641, forty-one *Popiſh* members were expelled from Parliament, for being engaged in it*.

"Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum."

This writers mentions *the Union*, as the eighth and laſt cauſe of popular diſcontent in Ireland. We cannot be ſurpriſed, that the Iriſh Roman Catholics ſhould be diſpleaſed with a perpetual incorporation of the two iſlands, as they have been inceſſantly endeavouring to ſeparate them, with the aſſiſtance of the foreign enemies of the empire, ever ſince the year 1538, when, in obedience to the bull of Pope Paul III. they renounced their allegiance to the Engliſh Monarch. He collects and abridges the common-place arguments uſed by jacobins and republicans againſt it; and he ſays, "the next argument in favour of the Union, was the ſecurity it would give to the property of Proteſtants. But this ſecurity might have been more perfectly produced, by aſſimilating the Catholics entirely with the Proteſtants; and to this meaſure recourſe muſt be had at laſt, with or without an union." This cannot be done by any act of the Legiſlature; nor can we entertain any hopes of its accompliſhment, while the Papiſts acknowledge the ſupremacy of a *foreign prince*, and adhere to the impious tenets of the *general councils* and *canons* of their church. *Dr. Troy*, titular Archbiſhop of Dublin, tells us, in his Paſtoral Inſtruction, publiſhed there in 1793, that they are infallible in matters of faith and morality, and that all Roman Catholics are obliged implicitly to adhere to them; and Mr. *Francis Plowden*, in his Caſe Stated, makes the ſame aſſertions. Dr. Troy, in that work, among many general councils which he ſays are infallible, mentions the following:—the 4th *Lateran*, A.D. 1215, *Lyons*, 1274, *Conſtance*, 1414, *Trent*, 1545. Now the reader will find the following doctrines inculcated in them, as the ſacred and indiſpenſable duty of Roman Catholics: That no faith is to be kept with heretics; that they are bound to depoſe and murder heretical princes and governors, and to extirpate heretics of every deſcription, whenever they are able to do ſo. The woeful effects of theſe impious tenets were experienced in Ireland, for nearly two hundred years previous to the Revolution; during which ſpace, the Iriſh Roman Catholics enjoyed thoſe privileges, which they now claim as the means of their conciliation. But can any rational perſon expect, that, by conceding them, that effect would be produced? when Mr. F. Plowden ſays, in his Caſe Stated, publiſhed in 1791, "If any one ſays, or pretends to inſinuate, that the modern Roman Catholics, who were the late object of the bounty of Parliament, differ in one *iota* from their anceſtors, he either deceives himſelf, or he wiſhes to deceive others. *Semper eadem* is more emphatically deſcriptive of our religion, than our juriſprudence."

* Iriſh Commons' Journals, Vol. I. p. 299.

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We are well informed, that this pamphlet has been re-printed, in Dublin, by Hugh Fitzpatrick, bookſeller and ſtationer to the Popiſh College of Maynooth. As Fitzpatrick would not venture to publiſh any thing whatſoever, without the ſanction of the governor of that ſeminary, to whom he is completely ſubſervient, it is ſurpriſing that gratitude to the Proteſtant State, for endowing it, at a very great expence, ſhould not reſtrain them from allowing ſo inflammatory a work to be publiſhed, particularly as it ſeverely reflects on the adminiſtration of Lord Hardwicke, who has uſed the moſt ſtrenuous exertions to conciliate the Iriſh Roman Catholics. The following paragraph, joined to what we have already quoted, muſt convince the reader of its hoſtile deſigns towards Lord Hardwicke's adminiſtration. It ſtates, in the third cauſe, that Government, by inſulting the people, "makes rebellion appear not only generous, but ſacred. Can we wonder that opinion, its firmeſt and moſt reſpectable ſupport, proves viſionary, and all its authority reſts upon the odious, the diſgraceful aſſiſtance of the halter and the ſword?"

Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correſpondence, of Sir William Jones.

(Concluded from Vol. XXI. P. 249.)

WE now reſume our account of this volume, in which the abſence of one of our members has occaſioned too long a delay.

Much about this time (1768) Sir W. Jones formed an acquaintance with Charles Reviczki, a German Count, afterwards Ambaſſador to the Engliſh Court; a man of amiable manners, of great ſcholaſtic attainments, and warmly attached, like himſelf, to the purſuit of Eaſtern literature, in which his proficiency was very conſiderable. With this perſon he maintained a ſtrict and friendly correſpondence, in the French and Latin languages, but principally in the latter, in which he wrote with equal purity, elegance, and eaſe. We ſhall give the firſt letter of the ſeries.

"Mr. Jones to C. Reviczki.

"How pleaſing was that half hour to me in which we converſed on Perſian poetry, our mutual delight. I conſidered it the commencement of a moſt agreeable friendſhip and intercourſe between us; but my expectations are diſappointed by the circumſtances in which we are unavoidably placed; for my buſineſs will confine me to the country longer than I wiſh; and you, as I am informed, are preparing to return immediately to Germany. I have, therefore, to lament that our intimacy is, as it were, nipped in the bud. I am not, however, without this conſolation, that if I cannot perſonally converſe with you, I can at leaſt correſpond with you, and thus enjoy the ſatisfaction ariſing from a communication of our ſentiments and ſtudies. In mentioning *our friendſhip*, I ſhall not, I truſt, be deemed guilty of an improper freedom. Similarity of ſtudies, fondneſs for polite literature, congenial purſuits, and conformity of ſentiments are the great bonds of intimacy amongſt mankind. Our ſtudies and purſuits are the ſame,

fame, with this difference indeed, that you are already deeply verſed in oriental learning, whilſt I am inceſſantly labouring with all my might to obtain a proficiency in it. But I will not allow you to excel me in partiality for thoſe ſtudies, ſince nothing can exceed my delight in them. From my earlieſt years, I was charmed with the poetry of the Greeks; nothing I then thought could be more ſublime than the Odes of Pindar, nothing ſweeter than Anacreon, nothing more poliſhed or elegant than the golden remains of Sappho, Archilochus, Alcæus, and Simonides; but when I had taſted the poetry of the Arabs and Perſians * * * * * * * *

"The remainder of this letter is loſt; but from the context, and the anſwer of Reviczki, we may conclude that it contained an elaborate panegyric on Eaſtern poetry, expreſſed with all the rapture which novelty inſpires, and in terms degrading to the Muſes of Greece and Rome."

The reader will collect from this the principal ſubject of their correſpondence: it is not extremely intereſting, unleſs to the admirers of Aſiatic Poetry, on the beauties of which it enthuſiaſtically expatiates, occaſionally introducing ſhort extracts of ſingular taſte and beauty.

It appears, that Reviczki was in England during the diſgraceful ſcenes which took place in conſequence of the political frenzy excited by Wilkes, and his worthleſs abettors. The impreſſion which they made, could not be favourable to the notions entertained abroad, of the excellence of the Britiſh Conſtitution, and, therefore, Sir W. Jones found it neceſſary to advert to them, in one of his letters.

"If I were not a ſincere lover of truth, and averſe from all diſſimulation, I ſhould lament that our capital has fallen under your inſpection in theſe times of turbulence and diſtraction, when the liberty of my country ſo univerſally celebrated, has degenerated into unbridled licentiouſneſs, not to ſay outrage. The original form of our conſtitution is almoſt divine; to ſuch a degree, that no ſtate of Rome or Greece, could ever boaſt one ſuperior to it, nor could Plato, Ariſtotle, nor any legiſlator, even conceive a more perfect model of a ſtate. The three parts which compoſe it are ſo harmoniouſly blended and incorporated, that neither the flute of Ariſtoxenus, nor the lyre of Timotheus, ever produced more perfect concord. What can be more difficult than to deviſe a conſtitution, which, while it guards the dignity of the ſovereignty and liberty of the people, from any encroachment by the influence and power of the nobility, preſerves the force and majeſty of the laws from violation, by the popular liberty? This was the caſe formerly in our iſland, and would be ſo ſtill, if the folly of ſome had not prompted them to ſpur on the populace inſtead of holding them in. I cannot, therefore, reſtrain my indignation againſt *Wilkes*, a bold and able, but turbulent man, the very torch and firebrand of ſedition; but what can be ſaid in defence of the honour and conſiſtency of ſome of our nobility, who, after having given him their countenance and ſupport, ſhamefully deſerted and betrayed him."

What ideas of political harmony the blended muſic of Timotheus, and Ariſtoxenus might produce in his own mind, we know not; certain it is, that no great degree of information could be conveyed by it, to his leſs enlightened correſpondent; the fact, however, is, that he always treated this ſubject with the affectation of an academick,

rather

rather than with the profound and comprehenſive views of a ſtatiſt. It was, indeed, impoſſible for Sir W. Jones to ſpeak of any thing, without exhibiting ſtrong marks of fancy and ingenuity, but we muſt be permitted to ſay, that we think him leſs ſucceſsful on this topic than on any other. The political papers, injudiciouſly preſerved among his printed works, evince no particular knowledge of the great practical principles of our Conſtitution, and have been ſurpaſſed, in their own way, by writers of very inferior note.

During his reſidence at Althorpe, he paid frequent viſits to Oxford, in one of which he made an excurſion to Foreſt Hill, the ancient ſeat of the Powels, and the occaſional reſidence of Milton, whoſe firſt wife, Mary Powel, was the daughter of the proprietor. Of this little adventure, he gave an account to Lady Spencer, in a letter which will ever be conſidered as a beautiful model of chaſte and elegant deſcription.

7th of Sept. 1760.

"The neceſſary trouble of correcting the firſt printed ſheets of my hiſtory, prevented me to day from paying a proper reſpect to the memory of Shakeſpeare, by attending his jubilee. But I was reſolved to do all the honour in my power to as great a poet, and ſet out in the morning in company with a friend, to viſit a place where Milton ſpent ſome part of his life, and where, in all probability, he compoſed ſeveral of his earlieſt productions. It is a ſmall village ſituated on a pleaſant hill, about three miles from Oxford, and called Foreſt Hill, becauſe it formerly lay contiguous to a foreſt, which has ſince been cut down. The poet choſe this place for retirement after his firſt marriage, and he deſcribes the beauties of his retreat in that fine paſſage of his L'Allegro:

Sometimes walking, not unſeen,
By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green.
* * * * * *
While the ploughman, near at hand,
Whiſtles o'er the furrow'd land,
And the milkmaid ſingeth blithe,
And the mower whets his ſcythe;
And ev'ry ſhepherd tells his tale,
Under the hawthorn in the dale.
Strait mine eye hath caught new pleaſures,
Whilſt the landſcape round it meaſures:
Ruſſet lawns, and fallows grey
Where the nibbling flocks do ſtray:
Mountains, on whoſe barren breaſt,
The lab'ring clouds do often reſt;
Meadows trim, with daiſies pied,
Shallow brooks, and rivers wide;
Towers and battlements it ſees,
Boſom'd high in tufted trees.
* * * * * *
Hard by a cottage chimney ſmokes,
From betwixt two aged oaks. &c.

"It was neither the proper ſeaſon of the year, nor time of the day to hear

hear all the rural ſounds, and ſee all the objects mentioned in this deſcription; but, by a pleaſing concurrence of circumſtances, we were ſaluted upon our approach to the village with the muſic of the mower and his ſcythe; we ſaw the ploughman intent upon his labour, and the milkmaid returning from her country employment.

"As we aſcended the hill, the variety of beautiful objects, the agreeable ſtillneſs and natural ſimplicity of the whole ſcene, gave us the higheſt pleaſure. We at length reached the ſpot, whence Milton undoubtedly took moſt of his images; it is on the top of the hill, from which there is a moſt extenſive proſpect on all ſides: the diſtant mountains that ſeemed to ſupport the clouds, the villages and turrets, partly ſhaded with trees of the fineſt verdure, and partly raiſed above the groves that ſurrounded them, the dark plains and meadows of a greyiſh colour, where the ſheep were feeding at large, in ſhort, the view of the ſtreams and rivers, convinced us that there was not a ſingle uſeleſs or idle word in the abovementioned deſcription, but that it was a moſt exact and lively repreſentation of nature. Thus will this fine paſſage, which has always been admired for its elegance, receive an additional beauty from its exactneſs. After we had walked, with a kind of poetical enthuſiaſm, over this enchanted ground, we returned to the village.

"The poet's houſe was cloſe to the church, the greateſt part of it has been pulled down, and what remains, belongs to an adjacent farm. I am informed that ſeveral papers in Milton's own hand, were found by the gentleman who was laſt in poſſeſſion of the eſtate. The tradition of his having lived there is current among the villagers: one of them ſhewed us a ruinous wall that made part of his chamber, and I was much pleaſed with another, who had forgotten the name of Milton, but recollected him by the title of The Poet.

"It muſt not be omitted that the groves near this village are famous for nightingales, which are ſo elegantly deſcribed in the Penſieroſo. Moſt of the cottage windows are overgrown with ſweetbriars, vines and honeyſuckles, and that Milton's habitation had the ſame ruſtic ornament, we may conclude from his deſcription of the lark bidding him good-morrow.

Thro' the ſweet-briar, or the vine,
Or the twiſted eglantine:

for it is evident, that he meant a ſort of honey-ſuckle by the eglantine; though that word is commonly uſed for the ſweet-briar, which he could not mention twice in the ſame couplet.

"If I ever paſs a month or ſix weeks at Oxford in the Summer, I ſhall be inclined to hire and repair this venerable manſion, and to make a feſtival for a circle of friends, in honour of Milton, the moſt perfect ſcholar, as well as the ſublimeſt poet, that our country ever produced. Such an honour will be leſs ſplendid, but more ſincere and reſpectful, than all the pomp and ceremony on the banks of the Avon." I have the honour, &c."

It may, indeed, be doubted whether the account which he received on the ſpot, be founded in fact; the reſidence of a public man, like Milton, could have been only temporary in this ſecluded manſion, and he was too converſant with the preſs, to have left many manuſcripts. The tradition, however, while it juſtifies the writer, proves the veneration with which the name of our great poet, was there regarded.

In

In 1770, we find Sir W. Jones at Nice, with the family of Lord Spencer; here, and at Spa, he continued for ſome months, during which, he wrote ſeveral letters to his friend Reviczki. Theſe are principally on literary ſubjects, interſperſed with querulous remarks on a want of intereſt in the ſcenery and people around; remarks which muſt have ſtruck his correſpondent, ſince, in a letter from Vienna, he thus delicately notices them.

"Indeed, my dear Sir, I cannot think you much to be pitied, for having paſt a year in travelling through various climates and regions; on the contrary, I think it extremely fortunate that you have had an opportunity which you are well qualified to improve. You have eſcaped the ſeverity of winter in the mild and temperate climate of Italy, you have enjoyed the ſpring in France and England, and you are now ſpending the ſummer on the confines of Germany, in a place, which is the general rendezvous of Europe; and where you may ſee, at a glance, an aſſemblage of various nations. Is not this delightful? Is not the great advantage of travelling to explore the characters of different people? I can, however, eaſily conceive the inconvenience which a man of letters muſt ſuffer from the want of means and opportunity to purſue his ſtudies, and this alone is ſufficient to diminiſh the pleaſure of it."

The truth is, that he felt himſelf ill at eaſe, unleſs he was ſurrounded by his books: even at Paris, inſtead of ſtudying the manners of the people, he amuſed himſelf with what he allows, "will perhaps make his correſpondent ſmile," a tranſlation of an antient Chineſe Ode! This muſt have coſt him an infinite deal of trouble: but to his extraordinary genius and application nothing was inſuperable; and we are almoſt perſuaded that, if he had travelled to Egypt, he would have diſcovered the key to the hieroglyphicks.

While he was abroad, he wiſhed to pay his reſpects to Voltaire.

"I made," he ſays "an excurſion to Geneva, in hopes of ſeeing Voltaire, but was diſappointed. I ſent him a note with a few verſes, implying that the muſe of tragedy had left her ancient ſeat in Greece and Italy, and had fixed her abode on the borders of a lake, &c. He returned this anſwer: "The worſt of French poets and philoſophers is almoſt dying; age and ſickneſs have brought him to his laſt day; he can converſe with nobody, and entreats Mr. Jones to excuſe and pity him. He preſents him with his humble reſpects." But he was not ſo ill as he imagined; for he had been walking in his court, and went into his houſe juſt as I came to it. The ſervants ſhewed me ſomebody at a window, who they ſaid was he; but I had ſcarce a glimpſe of him. I am inclined to think that Voltaire begins to be rather ſerious, when he finds himſelf upon the brink of eternity; and that he refuſes to ſee company, becauſe he cannot diſplay his former wit and ſprightlineſs."

Sir W. Jones was little acquainted with the wiles of this hoary hypocrite, who conſtantly uſed the plea of ill health, to avoid ſeeing ſuch as were unlikely to be the dupes of his ſhallow pretenſions, or the trumpeters of his inordinate vanity. The character of our traveller, which was already familiar to the French, abſolutely precluded

the hope of his being either of theſe, and Voltaire was too cunning to expoſe himſelf.

It was during this tour that he put the laſt hand to his tragedy of Solyman, with which he appears at this time to be much pleaſed, but of which his maturer, and more ſevere judgment, probably diſapproved, ſince no traces of it were found among his papers. Poetry has doubtleſs ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs by its diſappearance, but it may be queſtioned whether the Drama have ſuffered in an equal degree, as delineation of character, and intuitive glances into the human breaſt, were not, perhaps, among the characteriſtic excellences of the author. He alſo wrote a ſeries of eſſays on Education, of which nothing remains but the plan. He quitted the family of Lord Spencer ſoon after his return to England, and entered upon the ſtudy of the Law, as a profeſſion, in Sept. 1770. Independence, and a deſire of acquiring diſtinction in the ſervice of his country, (the noble motives of all his actions), ſtimulated him to this determination, which was juſtified by complete ſucceſs.

In announcing his intentions to Count Reviczki, for whom he always retained a cordial and ardent attachment, he takes leave of "Oriental literature and poetry;" and he does it preciſely, as a jealous lover takes leave of an adored miſtreſs, by returning inceſſantly to her ſight. In his valedictory letter he obſerves, that he "amuſed himſelf with the choiceſt of the Perſian poets," and that he had laid the plan of "an epic poem, on a noble ſubject," under the title of Britanneis!

About this time he finiſhed his celebrated epiſtle to Monſ. du Perron, in which he obſerves, with a humourous reference to an expreſſion of Cicero's, that he *had diſquieted the French nation:* this production, written in French, with ſuch purity and elegance, as to induce a belief that it came from the pen of ſome Pariſian *bel eſprit*, was a ſevere but juſt critique on the Life and Works of Zoroaſter, in which Du Perron had inſerted, with the uſual petulance of his countrymen, an illiberal attack on the literature of our Univerſities. Sir William eaſily ſhewed, that the communications exhibited to the world with ſuch prepoſterous importance, were a tiſſue of palpable forgeries utterly undeſerving of notice. Were French men corrigible, this timely caſtigation might have been of ſome avail; and Monſ. Anquetil would not have further diſgraced his old age, by a publication more idly laborious, and more contemptible in every reſpect than that which fell under the laſh of his antagoniſt.

In 1774, Sir W. Jones gave his palmarium opus, his commentaries on Aſiatic Poetry, to the world. This ſtupendous work eſtabliſhed his reputation in every part of Europe, as a ſcholar, a man of taſte, and a poet of unrivalled excellence. It was finiſhed, Lord Teignmouth informs us, in the twenty-third year of his age! but with a juſt ſolicitude for his own reputation, and a proper reſpect for the public, he ſubmitted the manuſcript to his friends, to whoſe critical remarks he always attended with a modeſty that has probably found

more

more admirers than imitators. Soon after this, he was called to the Bar: we have no accounnt of his ſucceſs, but as he makes no complaint, it probably equalled his expectations. With the general eſtimation in which he ſtood, both at home and abroad, he had abundant reaſon to be ſatisfied, and yet, every day brought him new acceſſion of fame.

Among his learned correſpondents, we find the reſpectable name of H. Schultens, a profound ſcholar, and the boaſt of the Dutch Univerſities. From him we have ſeveral valuable letters; in general, they turn on Aſiatic literature, with which he was as familiar as Sir W. Jones; but there are ſcattered among them little particulars of domeſtic hiſtory, which cannot be read without intereſt. One of theſe we ſhall ſelect, with the noble editor's judicious obſervations upon it.

"I congratulate you upon your new office*, as an introduction to ſomething more honourable and lucrative; and as to the loſs of your liberty, I regret it rather on my account, than on yours. No one, not even an Engliſh man, can object to ſervice for the public good, which is the juſt recompence of virtue and merit. To me, however, your confinement is grievous, for if I was diſappointed in the expectation of ſeeing you, when you were your own maſter, I can ſcarcely now indulge a diſtant hope of that pleaſure. Do not, however, leave me in deſpair: you have fifty-nine aſſociates; ſome interval of leiſure may occur, and if it ſhould, do not neglect it, but run over and make us happy by the enjoyment of your company and converſation. It is not from want of inclination that I do not pay you another viſit, the recollection of the pleaſure I had in your ſociety is ſo ſtrongly impreſſed upon me, that I have nothing more anxiouſly at heart, than to fly over to you with all ſpeed, that I may again enjoy it. Neither is it want of time, that detains me, for my office which excluſively occupies me for nine months, leaves me at liberty the remaining three. What is it then? I will tell you the truth, nor bluſh to reveal to my friend 'that when my purſe is heavier, I ſhall find the journey to you lighter†.'

"The ſoil of Oriental literature in Holland, as elſewhere, is barren; it produces only the mere conveniences of life, but no ſuperfluities whatever. I muſt, therefore, defer all hope of accompliſhing a journey to England, without ſome unexpected improvement of my circumſtances. I ſhall however, bear my lot, whatever it may be, with patience. Having mentioned this ſubject to you, I will add ſomething in which you may eſſentially ſerve me. With a view to improving my fortune, and procuring that affluence, which, though it may be diſpenſed with, is moſt acceptable to thoſe who poſſeſs it, I have determined to undertake the charge of a pupil, to receive him into my houſe and ſuperintend his morals and education. I am particularly anxious, however, that he ſhould be of your country, not only becauſe the ſyſtem of private education is little known or followed here, but becauſe it would be more agreeable to me to part with my liberty to an Engliſhman (you ſee how openly I ſpeak) from whom I might expect a more ſubſtantial recompence. My paper will not allow

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* Commiſſioner of Bankrupts.

† An Arabic proverb adapted to the ſituation of the writer.

me to ſay much more. Oblige me with a few lines in reply; I am certain you will willingly aſſiſt me as far as you can, and you may depend upon the ſtricteſt attention on my part, to any requeſt from you which I can poſſibly execute. My wife ſends her beſt compliments to your excellent mother and ſiſter. Farewel, my dear Jones, and continue to honour me with your eſteem. H. A. SCHULTENS.

* * * * * *

"At an interval of more than thirty-five years from the date of this letter, I cannot but acknowledge a diſpoſition to ſympathize with the feelings of the learned writer, and participate the regret which he expreſſes, at the deprivation of the ſociety of his friend, from his want of means to defray the expence of a journey to England. At this period, Schultens enjoyed an extenſive reputation, and was perhaps the object of envy to many, who, without any claim to diſtinction, poſſeſſed that opulence which, with all his indefatigable labours in cultivating and promoting literature, he had not been able to procure. We feel the more for him, becauſe his complaints, (if the confidential communication of his circumſtances authorize the expreſſion) are neither deficient in dignity, nor reſignation. In truth, the tract of literature which he had choſen to cultivate, was more calculated to produce a harveſt of celebrity, than profit."

We could have wiſhed that the anſwer to this affecting letter had been written with more warmth, but it is probable Sir W. Jones, at this time, was diſtracted by many, and various purſuits. We obſerve with pleaſure, however, that this amiable man, and truly excellent ſcholar, did not long feel the preſſure of want; for on the death of his father, which happened a few months after the date of this letter, he ſucceeded to the profeſſorſhip of Oriental literature.

In 1778, he publiſhed a tranſlation of the ſpeeches of Iſæus, a work which required "the united qualifications of claſſical erudition and legal knowledge, and which he diſcharged with equal pleaſure and ſucceſs." The accuracy of this work can only be eſtimated by thoſe who have compared it verbatim with the original; a taſk which the writer of this knows that he more than once underwent. The introduction, which is written with uncommon elegance, is a legal treaſure.

He was now ſomewhat immerſed in politics: the war with America raged violently, and Sir W. Jones, with his accuſtomed ardour, took the ſide of the inſurgents. He was a whig from education and habit; his chief friends were among the leaders of that party, and he was eaſily induced by his affection to decide on a queſtion which he had inveſtigated, rather as a philoſopher than a practical politician. It is curious to obſerve, however, the workings of a mind inflexibly upright: he approves with cautious reſerve, and more frequently laments the violence, and diſcordant language of his friends, than he praiſes their energy, or adopts their arguments. Had it been the fate of Sir W. Jones to enter Parliament, he would have been an inſulated being, agreeing with no party, and producing no conviction. He was not, however, of this perſuaſion; and, induced by the advice and encouragement of ſeveral reſpectable members

bers of the Univerſity, declared his intention to become a candidate for Oxford.

In the interim he had written a Latin Ode to Liberty, under the aſſumed name of Julius Meleſigonus, an ingenious anagram of Gulielmus Joneſius: it was in the Alcaic meaſure, and certainly Alcæus himſelf would not have bluſhed to own ſo pure, ſo elegant, and ſo ſpirited a performance. It was ſtrongly tinctured, however, with his political principles, and muſt have been conſidered, by the ruling party, as an open act of hoſtility:—yet, to ſhew the independence of his mind, it was ſent into the world, at the very time that he was ſoliciting, from the friendſhip of Lord North, the appointment of a Judgeſhip in India. Such a ſtep, as he truly ſays in a letter to the Rev. E. Cartwright, "ſufficiently proves, that no views or connections could prevent him from declaring his honeſt ſentiments, when he thought they might be uſeful to his country." P. 175.

He tranſmitted a copy of this Ode to his friend Schultens, together with a requeſt of aſſiſtance in the approaching ſtruggle. How Schultens could aſſiſt him, does not appear; but his anſwer, with every tender of friendſhip, contains this remarkable paſſage:

"Have you, however, no apprehenſion that your enthuſiaſm for liberty, which is ſo generally known, may, in theſe unpropitious times, injure the ſucceſs of your cauſe? Will thoſe upon whoſe votes your election depends, allow the Univerſity to be repreſented in parliament by Julius Meleſigonus?

Schultens was right, the oppoſition to his pretenſions aſſumed a formidable appearance, and he withdrew from the conteſt:—indeed, he left England ſoon after, for the amuſements of Paris, and the converſation of the Americans who ſwarmed there at this period, and whoſe acquaintance he cultivated with infinite aſſiduity. But he reſolved, he ſays, "to write an impartial hiſtory of the war, and would havegone to Holland to collect intelligence from the American letters there, if the ſeaſon would have admitted." P. 190. To write the hiſtory of a war, with a previous perſuaſion that it was unjuſt on the ſide of his country, and to ſeek for information principally among its bittereſt enemies, would to any other than Sir W. Jones, afford no very ſatisfactory pledges of "impartiality." On the whole, we feel no regret that this hiſtory was never written.

In 1781, he reſumed (if the expreſſion may be allowed, of what, perhaps, was never abandoned) his Arabic labours, and finiſhed an exquiſite tranſlation of ſeven poems, which make a part of that celebrated collection preſerved in the temple of Mecca. About this time, too, he gave the world his treatiſe on the Law of Bailments, one of the moſt conciſe, accurate, and ſcientific works that ever appeared upon a legal ſubject. Politics alſo engroſſed ſome part of his attention, he wrote dialogues, made ſpeeches, and became a member of the Society for Conſtitutional Information:—but we have no ſatisfaction in contemplating thoſe ſcenes, and therefore turn with eagerneſs

to other events. The following letter to his pupil, Lord Althorpe, ſoon after his marriage, places him in a moſt amiable light:

" *O la bella cosa di far niente!* This was my exclamation, my dear Lord, on the 12th of laſt month, when I found myſelf, as I thought, at liberty to be a rambler, or an idler, or any thing I pleaſed: but my *mal di gola* took ample revenge for my abuſe and contempt of it, when I wrote to you, by confining me twelve days with a fever and quinſey; and I am now ſo cramped by the approaching ſeſſion at Oxford, that I cannot make any long excurſion. I encloſe my tragical ſong of " a ſhepherdeſs going," with Mazzanti's muſic, of which my opinion at preſent is, that the modulation is very artificial, and the harmony good, but that Pergoleſi (whom the modern Italians are ſuch puppies as to under-value) would have made it more pathetic and *heart-rending*, if I may compoſe ſuch a word. I long to hear it ſung by Mrs. Poyntz. Pray preſent the encloſed, in my name, to Lady Althope. I hope that I ſhall in a ſhort time be able to think of you, when I read theſe charming lines of Catullus.

' And ſoon to be completely bleſt.
Soon may a young Torquatus riſe;
Who, hanging on his mother's breaſt,
To his known ſire ſhall turn his eyes,
Out-ſtretch his infant arms awhile,
Half ope his little lips and ſmile.'

" What a beautiful picture! can Dominichino equal it? How weak are all arts in compariſon of poetry and rhetoric! Inſtead, however, of Torquatus, I would read Spencerus. Do you not think that I have diſcovered the true uſe of the fine arts, namely, in relaxing the mind after toil. Man was born for *labour*; his configuration, his paſſions, his reſtleſsneſs, all prove it; but labour would wear him out, and the purpoſe of it be defeated, if he had not intervals of *pleasure*; and unleſs that pleaſure be *innocent*, both he and ſociety muſt ſuffer. Now what pleaſures are more harmleſs, if they be nothing elſe, than thoſe afforded by polite arts and polite literature? love was given us by the author of our being as the reward of virtue, and the ſolace of care; but the baſe and ſordid forms of *artificial*, (which I oppoſe to natural ſociety) in which we live, have encircled that heavenly roſe with ſo many thorns, that the wealthy alone can gather it with prudence. On the other hand, mere pleaſure, to which the idle are not juſtly entitled, ſoon ſatiates, and leaves a vacuity in the mind more unpleaſant than actual pain. A juſt mixture, or interchange of labour and pleaſures, appears alone conducive to ſuch happineſs as this life affords. Farewel, I have no room to add my uſeleſs name, and ſtill more uſeleſs profeſſions of friendſhip."

Matters had now reached their criſis. The Whigs wreſted the reins of government from the timid hands of Lord North, a diſgraceful, we had almoſt ſaid a traiterous, peace was haſtily patched up with America; and as the friends of Sir W. Jones were now all-powerful, he eaſily obtained, through the ſolicitation of Lord Aſhburton, the object of his long and anxious wiſhes, the appointment of a Judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal: he received, at the ſame time, the honour of knighthood, and ſoon after took his paſſage in the Crocodile frigate for India. Previouſly to this, however, he married

married Miſs Shipley, to whom he had been tenderly attached for many years, but to whom, with equal delicacy and manlineſs, he had reſolved to unite himſelf, till he could command every thing which his affection might deem neceſſary to her happineſs.

The proſpects which were now opened, are thus elegantly deſcribed by his biographer:

"With what rapture he himſelf contemplated his new ſituation, may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. As a magiſtrate of the ſupreme court of judicature, he had now that opportunity which he ever ardently deſired, of devoting his talents to the ſervice of his native country, and of promoting the happineſs of the community in which he reſided; while the hiſtory, antiquities, natural productions, arts, ſciences, and literature of Aſia, opened an extenſive and almoſt boundleſs field to his enquiries. He was now placed amidſt a people, whoſe pretenſions to antiquity had hitherto eluded reſearch, and whoſe manners, religion, and cuſtoms, ſtill retained the ſame characteriſtical peculiarities, by which they were originally diſtinguiſhed, Time, who ſpreads the veil of oblivion over the opinions and works of mankind, who annihilates empires and the records of their exiſtence, had ſpared the doctrines and language of the followers of Brama, and amidſt the ravages of conqueſt and oppreſſions of tyranny, ſeemed to protect with parental care ſome of the earlieſt monuments of his reign. The Hindoos, in fact, preſented to the obſervation of Sir William Jones, a living picture of antiquity; and although the colouring might be ſomewhat faded and obſcured, the lineaments of the original character were ſtill diſcernable by the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, whilſt he remarked them with diſcrimination and rapture."

It is certain that he neglected none of thoſe opportunities; on the contrary, he improved them beyond the moſt ſanguine expectations of his country. We contemplate his reſidence in India with unabated and inceſſant delight: he had, indeed, adopted, with many ſpeculative philoſophers, exaggerated ideas of the virtues of the Hindoos, a race timid from ſuperſtition, and cruel from avarice; but experience gave him juſter views, and the charges, which he annually delivered to the Grand Juries of Bengal, evince, in their chaſtened panegyrics, the progreſſive fruits of a more intimate knowledge.

It is not our deſign, even if we had ſpace, to follow this extraordinary man through his multifarious and extenſive purſuits: we can only obſerve, that the due adminiſtration of juſtice formed his chief concern; and that every moment, which was not engroſſed by the claims of his high office, was ſedulouſly devoted to the moſt active reſearches into the antient literature and philoſophy of India, with a ſucceſs that will be ſeldom equalled, and never, we believe, exceeded. That noble inſtitution, the Aſiatic Society, was founded by him ſoon after his arrival, and he continued not only to preſide over it with a parent's ſolicitude, but alſo to furniſh its moſt valuable matter, as long as it pleaſed the Almighty to ſpare his life. To him, whatever of knowledge may be gained hereafter of the ſacred hiſtory of Hindoſtan, muſt, in no ſmall degree, be referred; as his mild and amiable manners, his inflexible love of juſtice, and ſteady virtue, firſt

won on the ſuſpicious Bramin, and taught him to be communicative where he could not but reſpect and admire.

The hiſtory of Sir W. Jones in India, in other words, of his indefatigable labours, is judiciouſly collected from his own correſpondence, which we think uncommonly intereſting. We ſubjoin one of the earlieſt letters, as it proves that he was already viſited by that endemical complaint, to which all ſtrangers are, ſooner or later, ſubjected, and which, at no very diſtant period, was deſtined to cut ſhort his valuable labours:

"Sir WILLIAM JONES to CHARLES CHAPMAN, Eſq.

"*Gardens near Allipore, April* 26, 1784

"Allow me, dear Sir, to give you the warmeſt thanks in my own name, and in that of your infant ſociety, for the pleaſure which we have received from your intereſting account of Cochinchina, with conſiderable extracts from which we have been favoured by our patrons. Our meetings are well attended, and the ſociety may really be ſaid, conſidering the recent time of its eſtabliſhment, to flouriſh.

"We have been rather indiſpoſed, the weather being ſuch as we had no idea of in England, exceſſive heat at noon, and an inceſſant high wind from morning to night; at this moment it blows a hurricane, and my ſtudy reminds me of my cabin at ſea. Our way of life, however, is quite paſtoral in this retired ſpot; as my prime favourites, among all our pets, are two large Engliſh ſheep, which came with us from Spithead, and having narrowly eſcaped the knife, are to live as long and as happily with us as they can: they follow us for bread, and are perfectly domeſtic. We are literary lulled to ſleep by Perſian nightingales, and ceaſe to wonder, that the Bulbul, with a *thousand tales*, makes ſuch a figure in Oriental poetry. Since I am reſolved to ſit regularly in court as long as I am well, not knowing how ſoon I may be forced to remit my attention to buſineſs, I ſhall not be at liberty to enter my budgerow till near the end of July, and muſt be again in Calcutta on the 22d of October, ſo that my time will be very limited; and I ſhall wiſh if poſſible to ſee Benares.

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"The principal object of his meditated excurſion was to open ſources of information, on topics entirely new in the republic of letters. The indiſpoſition which he mentions, not without apprehenſions of its continuance, had not altogether left him when he commenced his journey, and during the progreſs of it returned with a ſeverity, which long held the public in anxious ſuſpenſe, before any hopes could be entertained of its favourable termination.

"The author of theſe memoirs ſaw him in Auguſt 1784; at the houſe of a friend in the vicinity of Moorſhedabad, languid, exhauſted, and emaciated, in a ſtate of very doubtful convaleſcence; but his mind had ſuffered no depreſſion, and exhibited all its habitual fervour. In his converſation he ſpoke with rapture of the country, of the novel and intereſting ſources opened to its reſearches, and ſeemed to lament his ſufferings, only as impediments to the proſecution of them."

On his arrival in India, he ſeems to have fixed the period of his return to the concluding year of the laſt century, by which time, he probably concluded, he ſhould have acquired that eaſy independence which

which limited his desires, and, what was with him, perhaps, an object of higher importance, have completed those vast objects which he already had in contemplation; but his affectionate fears for Lady Jones, who suffered from the climate equally with himself, induced him to hasten her departure, with a determination of following her in the course of the ensuing season, by which time he flattered himself that he should have discharged his engagements with the Government of India. Lady Jones embarked in December 1793. But Providence had other ends in view, and this separation was eternal: his health, which had been enfeebled by repeated attacks, was unable to struggle against what he mistook for an ague, but which, in fact, proved to be an inflamation of the liver, and he expired, after a short illness, on the 27th of April 1794. The closing scene of his life must be given in the words of the noble biographer:

"I now turn to the last scene of the life of Sir William Jones. The few months allotted to his existence after the departure of Lady Jones, were devoted to his usual occupations, and more particularly to the discharge of that duty which alone detained him in India, the completion of the digest of Hindu and Mahommedan law. But neither the consciousness of acquitting himself of an obligation which he had voluntarily contracted, nor his incessant assiduity, could fill the vacuity occasioned by the absence of her, whose society had sweetened the toil of application and cheered his hours of relaxation. Their habits were congenial, and their pursuits in some respects similar: his botanical researches were facilitated by the eyes of Lady Jones, and by her talents in drawing; and their evenings were generally passed together, in the perusal of the best modern authors in the different languages of Europe. After her departure he mixed more in promiscuous society; but his affections were transported with her to his native country.

"On the evening of the 20th of April, or nearly about that date, after prolonging his walk to a late hour, during which he had imprudently remained in conversation, in an unwholesome situation, he called upon the writer of these sheets, and complained of agueish symptoms, mentioning his intention to take some medicine, and repeated jocularly an old proverb, that "an ague in the spring is medicine for a king." He had no suspicion at the time, of the real nature of his indisposition, which proved in fact, to be a complaint common in Bengal, an inflammation in the liver. The disorder was, however, soon discovered by the penetration of the physician, who after two or three days was called in to his assistance; but it had then advanced too far to yield to the efficacy of the medicines usually prescribed, and they were administered in vain. The progress of the complaint was uncommonly rapid, and terminated fatally on the 27th of April 1794. On the morning of that day his attendants, alarmed at the evident symptoms of approaching dissolution, came precipitately to call the friend who has now the melancholy task of recording the mournful event: not a moment was lost in repairing to his house. He was lying on his bed in a posture of meditation, and the only symptom of remaining life was a small degree of motion in the heart, which after a few seconds ceased, and he expired without a pang or groan. His bodily suffering, from the complacency of his features, and the ease of his attitude, could not have been severe; and

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his mind muſt have derived conſolation from thoſe ſources where he had been in the habit of ſeeking it, and where alone, in our laſt moments, it can ever be found.

"The deep regret which I felt at the time, that the apprehenſions of the attendants of Sir William Jones had not induced them to give me earlier notice of the extremity of his ſituation, is not yet obliterated. It would have afforded me an opportunity of performing the pleaſing but painful office, of ſoothing his laſt moments, and I ſhould have felt the ſincereſt gratification in receiving his lateſt commands: nor would it have been leſs ſatisfactory to the public, to have known the dying ſentiments and behaviour of a man, who had ſo long and deſervedly enjoyed ſo large a portion of their eſteem and admiration.

"An anecdote of Sir William Jones, upon what authority I know not, has been recorded, that immediately before his diſſolution, he retired to his cloſet and expired in the act of adoration to his Creator. Such a circumſtance would have been conformable to his prevailing habits of thinking and reflection, but it is not founded in fact: he died upon his bed, and in the ſame room in which he had remained from the commencement of his indiſpoſition.

"The funeral ceremony was performed on the following day with the honours due to his public ſtation: and the numerous attendants of the moſt reſpectable Britiſh inhabitants of Calcutta evinced their ſorrow for his loſs, and their reſpect for his memory."

The Memoirs are cloſed by what Lord Teignmouth modeſtly calls a recapitulation of what had been previouſly detailed, but which, in reality, is a moſt eloquent, intereſting, and affectionate diſplay of his character, attainments, and virtues. We could with pleaſure tranſcribe the whole of this maſterly peroration; but we have already indulged too far, and muſt therefore content ourſelves with the concluding ſection:

"Of his private and ſocial virtues it ſtill remains to ſpeak; and I could with pleaſure expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity and probity, as well as his benevolence, which every living creature participated.

"Could the figure, (I quote with pleaſure his own words) inſtincts, and qualities of birds, beaſts, inſects, reptiles, and fiſh, be aſcertained, either on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnæus, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few ſtudies would afford us more ſolid inſtruction, or more exquiſite delight; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturaliſt can occaſion the miſery of an innocent bird, and leave its young, perhaps, to periſh in a cold neſt, becauſe it has gay plumage, and has never been accurately delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, becauſe it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful: nor ſhall I ever forget the couplet of Ferdauſi, for which Sadi, who cites it with applauſe, pours bleſſings on his departed ſpirit,

Ah! ſpare yon emmet rich in hoarded grain,
He lives with pleaſure, and he dies with pain.

"This may be only a confeſſion of weakneſs, and it certainly is not meant as a boaſt of peculiar ſenſibility; but whatever name may be given to my

my opinion, it has ſuch an effect on my conduct, that I never would ſuffer the *cocila*, whoſe wild native woodnotes announce the approach of ſpring, to be caught in my garden, for the ſake of comparing it with Buffon's deſcription; though I have often examined the domeſtic and engaging *Mayana*, which "bids us good morrow" at our windows, and expects, as its reward, little more than ſecurity: even when a fine young *manis* or *pangolin* was brought to me, againſt my wiſh, from the mountains, I ſolicited his reſtoration to his beloved rocks, becauſe I found it impoſſible to preſerve him in comfort at a diſtance from them.

"I have noticed his cheerful and aſſiduous performance of filial and fraternal duty: 'to the other virtues of Mr. Jones (I quote the teſtimony and words of profeſſor Bjornſhal, who viſited Oxford whilſt Sir William Jones reſided there, obligingly communicated to me by Dr. Ford of Mag. Hall) I ought to add that of filial duty, which he diſplays at all times in the moſt exemplary manner. I am not ſingular in the obſervation here made. Every one acquainted with Mr. Jones makes it likewiſe. I feel a pleaſure in dwelling upon a character that does ſuch high honour to human nature.' The unceaſing regret of Lady Jones is a proof of his claim upon her conjugal affections; and I could dwell with rapture on the affability of his converſation and manners, on his modeſt unaſſuming deportment, nor can I refrain from remarking, that he was totally free from pedantry, as well as from that arrogance and ſelf-ſufficiency, which ſometimes accompany and diſgrace the greateſt abilities; his preſence was the delight of every ſociety, which his converſation exhilarated and improved.

"His intercourſe with the Indian natives of character and abilities was extenſive: he liberally rewarded thoſe by whom he was ſerved and aſſiſted, and his dependants were treated by him as friends. Under this denomination he has frequently mentioned in his works the name of Bahman, a native of Yezd, and follower of the doctrines of Zoroaſter, whom he retained in his pay, and whoſe death he often adverted to with regret. Nor can I reſiſt the impulſe which I feel to repeat an anecdote of what occurred after his demiſe; the pundits who were in the habit of attending him, when I ſaw them at a public *durbar*, a few days after that melancholy event, could neither reſtrain their tears for his loſs, nor find terms to expreſs their admiration at the wonderful progreſs which he had made, in the ſciences which they profeſſed.

"If this character of Sir William Jones be not exaggerated by the partiality of friendſhip, we ſhall all apply to him his own words, 'it is happy for us that this man was born.' I have borrowed the application of them from Dr. Parr, and who more competent can be found, to eſtimate the merit of the great ſcholar, whom he deems worthy of this eulogium?

"In the pleaſing office of delineating his virtues, my regret for his loſs has been ſuſpended, but will never be obliterated; and whilſt I cheriſh with pride the recollection that he honoured me with his eſteem, I cannot ceaſe to feel and lament that the voice, to which I liſtened with rapture and improvement, is heard no more.

"As far as happineſs may be conſidered dependant upon the attainment of our wiſhes, he poſſeſſed it. At the period of his death, by a prudent attention to economy, which never encroached upon his liberality, he acquired a competency, and was in a ſituation to enjoy dignity with independence. For this acquiſition he was indebted to the exertion of his talents and abilities, of energies well directed, and uſefully applied to the

benefit

benefit of his country and mankind. He had obtained a reputation which might gratify the higheſt ambition: and as far as human happineſs is alſo connected with expectation, he had in proſpect a variety of employments, the execution of which depended only on the continuance of his health and intellectual powers. I ſhall not here enlarge upon the common topic of the vanity of human wiſhes, proſpects, and enjoyments, which my ſubject naturally ſuggeſts; but if my reader ſhould not participate that admiration which the memory of Sir William Jones excites in my mind, I muſt ſubmit to the mortification of having depreciated a character, which I had fondly hoped would be effectually emblazoned by its own excellence, if I did but ſimply recite the talents and virtues which conſpired to dignify and adorn it."

Theſe ample Memoirs are followed by an Appendix, containing the originals of the letters, ſo admirably tranſlated by Lord Teignmouth; the argument of an Epic Poem, which Sir W. Jones meditated, and which is liable to many objections; a pleaſing and inſtructive Eſſay on the Hiſtory of the Turks; and a few unpubliſhed poems, either tranſlated from the Perſian, or produced in moments of innocent gaiety, on incidental occurrences: Of theſe, we tranſcribe as a curioſity, a "Song from the Perſian, paraphraſed in the meaſure of the original."

"A SONG FROM THE PERSIAN PARAPHRASED IN THE MEASURE OF THE ORIGINAL.

"SWEET as the roſe that ſcents the gale,
Bright as the lily of the vale,
Yet with a heart like ſummer hail,
Marring each bud * thou beareſt.

Beauty like thine all nature thrills,
And when the Moon her circle fills,
Pale ſhe beholds thoſe rounder hills,
Which on the breaſt thou weareſt.

Where could thoſe peerleſs flowrets blow;
Whence are the thorns that near them grow?
Wound me, but ſmile, O lovely foe,
Smile on the heart thou teareſt.

Sighing, I view that cypreſs waiſt,
Doom'd to afflict me till embrac'd;
Sighing I view that eye too chaſte,
Like the new bloſſom ſmiling.

Spreading thy toils with hands divine,
Softly thou waveſt like a pine.
Darting thy ſhafts at hearts like mine,
Senſes, and ſoul beguiling.

See at thy feet no vulgar ſlave,
Frantic, with love's enchanting wave,
Thee, ere he ſeek the gloomy grave,
Thee, his bleſt idol ſtyling."

* In the copy *beauty* is evidently inſerted by a miſtake of the tranſcriber.—REV.

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We have now gone through this elaborate volume: To what is ſaid of Sir W. Jones we can add nothing. He has our ſincere love and admiration, and while the nature of goodneſs remains unchanged, he will be the pride and boaſt of his country. To Lord Teignmouth, we have very high obligations indeed; he has given us a work in which zeal is combined with knowledge, which emulates the worth it emblazons, and unites with every attainment that can adorn the ſcholar, every excellence that ennobles the man.

One word more. We ſhould not do juſtice to our own feelings, if we diſmiſſed this article without expreſſing our gratitude to his Lordſhip, for the care he has taken, in various paſſages, to eſtabliſh the religious character of Sir W. Jones. It is not that thoſe who had the happineſs of his acquaintance, have any doubts on the ſubject; it is not that thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of his admirable works want any information on it; but it is that thoſe who never enjoyed the one, nor boaſt the other, may not be miſled by the inſinuations of men who are ever deſirous of wreſting from Chriſtianity its beſt and moſt effectual ſupporters. We have ſeen with what diabolical zeal the Diderots and Condorcets of France laboured to demonſtrate the Atheiſm of Boileau, Monteſquieu, and other diſtinguiſhed names, on the baſeleſs foundation of a detached hint, or inſulated expreſſion; and we have among ourſelves Diderots and Condorcets of equal malignity, and more art, who would not fail, but for thoſe well timed and moſt laudable precautions, to take advantage of the early doubts of this great man and rational Chriſtian, to enliſt him under the banners of infidelity.

An Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations. By Adam Smith, L. L. D. and F. R. S. of London and Edinburgh; one of the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms in Scotland; and formerly Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Glaſgow. The Eleventh Edition; with Notes, Supplementary Chapters, and a Life of Dr. Smith, by William Playfair. In three Volumes, 8vo. Pp. 1672. 1l. 7s. Cadell and Davis. 1805.

THE firſt edition of this work, which has juſtly acquired high reputation (though its celebrity is, perhaps, ſomewhat greater than it is entitled to, on account of any powers of originality or invention), was printed in the end of the year 1775 and 1776. Different additions were made by the author to ſubſequent editions. In all theſe editions, *the preſent ſtate of things* means always the ſtate in which they were during the year 1783, and the beginning of the year 1784. Mr. Playfair, in an advertiſement prefixed to the preſent edition, obſerves, that, from all thoſe additions, it is evident, that, though the author conſidered principles as immutable, he was alſo of opinion—

"That illuſtrations require to be brought down to the lateſt period, in order that they may include every thing of importance that has reſulted from recent diſcovery or experience. The original work was written immediately previous to the French revolution, which formed a new epoch in the

the hiſtory of politics and commerce, and of modern times; ſince then [that time] alſo, numerous important events have taken place, which throw a new light on many of the ſubjects, into which our author inquires.

"The principal changes that have taken place ſince 1775, are—

"1. The foreign trade of England is more than doubled.

"2. The national debt is tripled.

"3. The national revenue is quadrupled.

"4. The actual circulation of the bank of England is no longer a ſecret.

"5. The corn and proviſion trades in this have undergone an almoſt total change.

"6. The American States, after creating paper money to an immenſe amount, and becoming inſolvent, have riſen to independence, credit, and power.

"7. The French revolution, brought on in ſome meaſure by the *French Œconomists*, has operated an almoſt total change on the face of Europe.

"Under theſe circumſtances, it is to be preſumed, that if Dr. Smith were ſtill alive, he would have found ample ground for additions, and perhaps he might have been inclined to make ſome alterations.

"The Author of the Notes and Supplementary Chapters has, with great diffidence, but after long deliberation, taken on himſelf a taſk to the accompliſhment of which he is conſcious of not being equal; but he hopes to meet with ſome indulgence from the good nature of his readers, who he truſts will diſcover, even in his errors, an eager deſire to attain truth, and arrive at a fair concluſion."

Mr. Playfair, from the preſent and other publications, appears to us to be a man of both inventive genius, and ſhrewdneſs of obſervation on the character of mankind, both in their individual and collective capacities. Therefore we are not a little ſurprized, that he ſhould try to beſpeak the favour of his readers, by ſo clumſy and common-place a declaration as that contained in this laſt paragraph of his advertiſement. He is conſcious of his inability to perform the taſk he has undertaken; but he is impelled by an eager deſire to attain truth. If this conviction was thorough, intimate, and ſincere, why enter on the buſineſs at all, until he was, from farther inveſtigation, fitted for it? The world could have waited for his father information, and conſequent improvement, without much impatience. But his diffidence was, probably, not quite ſo great as he pretends: and, in truth, there was not much occaſion for it. His genius and habits of inquiry are well ſuited to the taſk he has undertaken; and his ſucceſs is ſuch as might have been expected.

Of the general ſcope and tendency of Dr. Smith's celebrated Inquiry into the "Wealth of Nations," he gives a conciſe account, in his preface; juſt, on the whole, though, on the point of originality, leaning with * too manifeſt a bias to the ſide of Dr. Smith.

"The importance of ſtudying how a nation may become wealthy, and

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* See our ſtrictures on this point, in our critique on Mr. Playfair's "Decline and Fall of Wealthy and Powerful Nations."

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ſupport its dignity and independence amongſt other nations with the leaſt burthen to the ſubject, has long been felt; and many writers of ability and reſearch has employed their pens on that ſubject.

" The Engliſh writers have moſtly confined themſelves to collecting materials, and making calculations from ſuch facts as appeared to them to deſerve credit *.

" The French writers, on the other hand, more numerous and leſs attentive to facts, have eſtabliſhed ingenious theories, and attempted to reduce every thing to a ſyſtem, on which they reaſoned till they become enthuſiaſts, incapable of appreciating any thing that did not conform to the theories they had laid down. Much ingenuity and acuteneſs of reaſoning have been diſplayed by many of thoſe writers, known by the name of Œconomiſts, whoſe works tended not a little to bring on the revolution in their country, and to occaſion the exceſſes which it produced. Even Monteſquieu, by far the moſt profound of the French writers on theſe ſubjects, gives only detached principles, and there is nothing of that complete whole, nor of that connection of the parts, ſo neceſſary to the underſtanding of the ſubject, and to the forming a general concluſion.

" Dr. Adam Smith aimed at, and has in a great meaſure accompliſhed a complete Inquiry, not like the Œconomiſts, founded on theory, but eſtabliſhed as much as poſſible on facts; he has inquired into facts firſt, and then into their cauſes. He appears to have followed the ſame line of inveſtigation in matters of political œconomy, as the great Newton did in natural philoſophy, and conſequently his book is nearly as different from thoſe written by the men who went before him, as the Principia is from the reveries of Deſcartes.

" But the natural philoſopher tries experiments in his cloſet, or his elaboratory, which he can repeat, and re-examine. The world at large, is the ſtudy of the writer on political œconomy. The experiments are made by nations; and years, ſometimes centuries, are neceſſary for the purpoſe. On this gigantic ſcale muſt experiments be made; the information concerning them muſt generally be at ſecond hand, and can ſeldom be perfectly accurate, and the life of one man is ſcarcely ſufficient for collecting, much leſs for repeating them. On the other hand, as it is not poſſible, ſo alſo it is not neceſſary in ſuch inquiries, to attain the accuracy aimed at by the natural philoſopher or mathematician. The variety of circumſtances that occur in human affairs, prevent the ſtrict application of pure elementary principles to their adminiſtration; but the energy and genius of individuals are ſufficient to correct any ſmall deviations.

" The buſineſs is, then, to endeavour at getting near the truth, and to avoid running into thoſe errors that are too great to admit of remedy.

" Dr. Smith has ſo far ſucceeded in this; but, beſides that the moſt important experiments have been made ſince he wrote, he appears not on all occaſions to have had the beſt information, and, in oppoſition to thoſe legiſlators who would do every thing by regulation, HE IS FOR LEAVING EVERY THING FREE AND TO REGULATE ITSELF, and, as he very pro-

* Child, Petty, Davenant, King, Sir James Steuart, Anderſon, &c. &c. have each treated the ſubject partially, and rather with a diſplay of induſtry than of genius. They have collected many valuable and curious facts.

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perly expreſſes it, find its level. How far he is right, or whether he has not carried his theory too far, will be examined in the courſe of the notes on his work, and in the Supplementary Chapters.

"The author of the notes has long had in view this publication; but he waited till, the property of the work having ceaſed, he could publiſh his notes *with the work itself*, that, inſtead of entering the arena as a raſh antagoniſt, he might come in following in the train of the man; rather proud of wearing his livery as a maſter, than preſumptive of ſupporting with him an unequal combat.

"Though the writer of the notes has differed from Dr. Smith on ſome very material points, he has endeavoured to ſhew, that the errors he wiſhes to point out, are either owing to wrong information, want of information, or ſome circumſtance unconnected with the general principles on which the work is conducted.

"The definitions and firſt principles from which Dr. Smith ſets out, are generally drawn up with great accuracy and preciſion. On an intricate ſubject, and with a mind overflowing as his was with information on every branch of it, there is no wonder if he has ſometimes digreſſed, and ſometimes been diffuſe; but he will always have the honour of being the firſt writer, who has reduced to a regular form and order the moſt intricate, and one of the moſt important, ſubjects that can attract the attention of mankind; a ſubject ſo intimately connected with their general happineſs and proſperity."

Mr. Playfair's preface is followed by a ſhort ſketch of "The Life of Dr. Smith:" ſhort, but long enough; for, as Mr. P. juſtly obſerves, "anecdote, incident, and adventure, are what men look for in biography; but the hiſtory of ſtudy and virtue is generally deſtitute of all the three." On the ſubject of Dr. Smith's life, Mr. P. takes occaſion to obſerve, that, "as the opinion of Mr. Smith's obligations to the French Œconomiſts appears to gain ground, he has, in his ſupplementary chapter on the French Œconomiſts, thought proper to enlarge on the ſubject. The firſt founder of the regular ſect of Œconomiſts was a doctor [he does not ſay of what, but probably of phyſic] of the name of Queſnay, who had, with the moſt laudable intentions, turned his attention to ſuch objects as tend [meaning that the ſtudy of theſe objects tends] to promote the happineſs of a people, by a proper direction of induſtry, good laws, and regulations." It was another DOCTOR, an Engliſhman (Dr. Mandeville), who ſeems to have been at the bottom of all that has been written on this ſubject, either by Dr. Smith, or the French Œconomiſts:—That national wealth conſiſts in induſtry, excited by neceſſity, natural or luxurious; that the value and perfection of all the ſubjects of induſtry depend chiefly on the diviſion of labour; that certain labours or employments are productive, and others unproductive; that it is mechanics or ploughmen, that are demanded for national wealth, not men addicted to books, which often tend to make the poorer claſſes idle, vain, and diſcontented; that the value of articles depends on their ſcarcity or plenty—Theſe are the leading principles in Dr. Mandeville's Fable of the Bees. Let any man of candour and common underſtanding peruſe the

the Fable of the Bees, and the innumerable publications of the Œconomiſts, and then ſay, whether it be not almoſt certain, that the way was prepared for the inquiries and concluſions of the latter, by thoſe of the former. It is a pity but Mr. Playfair had been acquainted with the writings of Mandeville. The queſtion of originality is, indeed, of no great importance to mankind. It is in the juſtneſs and utility of principles alone, that we are, on our own account, intereſted. The merit of originality, or invention, is merely individual or national. "It is alſo true," as Mr. P. has well obſerved, "impoſſible to write well, on any ſubject of inquiry, without agreeing in many points with thoſe who have written well on the ſame; but this is no plagiariſm, like thoſe [meaning thoſe of plagiariſts] who compoſe works of imagination and fancy. Where is the ſubject of inquiry on which a man can be altogether original?" But though the queſtion of originality be of no great importance, it is a queſtion about which men are very curious. They appear to be ſometimes, indeed, more curious about the perſon who wrote, than about what is written. Witneſs the endleſs conjectures and eſſays reſpecting the queſtion who was the author of Junius's Letters? There is many a one, curious even to ſolicitude and uneaſineſs on this head, who has no manner of reliſh for the pure ſtile and admirable reaſoning of that excellent writer. "Such a curioſity is not indeed," to ſpeak in the language of the Œconomiſts, "a want of primary neceſſity." It is a want of luxury; but when a writer enters on the ſubject, he ſhould, if he can, go to the bottom. There are few who read the writing of the French Œconomiſts, and thoſe of Dr. Smith, who will not readily perceive, that the Doctor has been obliged to thoſe writers; and none who will not admit, that to thoſe men he was obliged, in as far as they have been the means of directing his attention to that vaſt variety of facts and conſiderations that enter into his Inquiry. "He differs from the Œconomiſts on the main point of productive and unproductive labourers, and cannot properly be accuſed of copying from them." He does not copy the difference of opinion; but he is led by the Œconomiſts to remark the difference between productive and unproductive labour; and, on other points, who does not trace a multitude of the ſame facts, and the ſame inferences?

Mr. Playfair obſerves, that "the Œconomiſts were not original." He fairly preſumes, that they too muſt have, in many things, followed and been directed in their inveſtigations by preceding writers. Their great leader and guide was undoubtedly Dr. Mandeville. The Fable of the Bees was firſt publiſhed in 1714. In the courſe of nine years, it made an impreſſion and a noiſe in the nation. In 1723, a preſentment was made by the Grand Jury of Middleſex, againſt the publiſher of a book, entitled "The Fable of the Bees; or, PRIVATE VICES PUBLIC BENEFITS." This book paſſed into France, where it was much read, particularly by the infidels, or PHILOSOPHERS, who were greatly delighted with the ſarcaſms with which it abounds on the clergy. The introduction of the Fable of the Bees into France coin-

cides with the time when the Œconomiſts received the impreſſions of education. As the juſt mode of inveſtigation in natural philoſophy was invented by Engliſhmen, ſo alſo the juſt mode of inveſtigation in political œconomy, how to make a people powerful and happy, the moſt important of all the ſubjects of reaſoning, was alſo firſt pointed out by an Engliſhman. Bacon and Newton were the fathers of legitimate inquiry in natural, and Mardeville in political philoſophy. It is not a little aſtoniſhing, that the honour due, on this ſcore, to Mandeville, has not been reclaimed before by his countrymen.

It is needleſs to obſerve, that the value of Dr. Smith's Inquiry is not diminiſhed, by a diminution of the ideal height to which his admirers have raiſed his invention or originality. Dr. Smith, though not the firſt that pointed out the true way—a medium between mere theory on the one hand, and mere details of facts, ſuch as thoſe of that indefatigable plodder, Sir John Sinclair, (which however have their value) on the other—has advanced the fartheſt in it. He is the beſt cultivator of the vaſt field he occupies, and he has gathered the beſt and moſt abundant fruit: which, by leading to farther and farther inquiry, for the correction of ſome things, or the addition of others, may re-produce other fruit, and by the proceſs of generalization, or ſimplification, leiſurely and gradual, but convincing and ſure, facilitate more and more the beſt means of promoting national wealth and proſperity. Mr. Playfair, our editor, biographer, continuator, and annotator on Dr. Smith, is ſingularly well qualified to eſtimate the improvements, and to ſucceed the Doctor as a labourer in the ſame field of political œconomy. It is with this labourer that we have at preſent, properly, to do; for a book, firſt publiſhed near thirty years ago, does not fall within the period and circle of our periodical work; though ſuch of our readers as have not read the "Wealth of Nations," may be enabled, from what we have ſaid, and have further to ſay, on the preſent occaſion, to form ſome notion of the nature and leading principles, or concluſions, of that celebrated publication.

Having touched on Mr. Playfair as the editor of this edition, and the biographer and defender of Dr. Smith, we proceed to view him briefly as a continuator.

Our readers may judge, from the following extracts, of his Supplementary Chapters. Chap. I. Book V. "On the increaſe of national debt, the bank of England, the ſinking fund, including ſuch occurrences in finance, as have taken place ſince this book was written." On this laſt head, which occupies the greater part of the chapter, he gives a very clear and curious account of the creation, operation, and conſequences of the famous French aſſignats. When the French revolution broke out, no country in Europe poſſeſſed ſo much ſpecie; it was eſtimated, by the beſt informed, at fifty millions; an immenſe ſum, but not more, in that extenſive and populous country, than two pounds to each perſon. Confident in the credit of the ſtate being loſt, all the coin that could be ſpared was withdrawn from circulation; the tax-gatherers found their authority ineffectual in collecting the revenue,

nue, ſo that the finances, the derangement of which had been the firſt cauſe of trouble, before the Aſſembly, in 1789, had been ſitting three months, were completely inefficient. Scarcely could government procure the money neceſſary for the payment of troops and daily expences. Every thing elſe remained unpaid. It was in this ſituation of things that the operative men belonging to the ſect of Œconomiſts invented and executed one of the moſt artful ſchemes that ever ſprung from the human brain.

"The debts of the ſtate were to be liquidated in order to relieve the people (that is, the nation), from paying the intereſt; but Mirabeau and his companions ſaw, that if the funds for that purpoſe were placed at the diſpoſal of the executive power, it might manage the aſſembly. He therefore oppoſed paper money, under whatever name, or of whatever deſcription it might be, till the court, in abſolute want of money, fatigued with a ſtruggle for which it was very unequal, and the fatal reſult of which it did not foreſee, gave up the point, and the king was dragged priſoner to Paris by an armed mob, excited by the faction that has already been named. Mirabeau, who had termed paper money an odious reſource, and a tax levied with fixed bayonets, when at Verſailles, no ſooner found the diſpoſal of ſuch a paper would be in the hands of the aſſembly, than the famous aſſignats were voted, not for the purpoſe of paying the creditors of the ſtate, or reſtoring order to the finances, but to relieve a people from taxes, who were intended to be converted into mobs and jacobin ſocieties, and who therefore could not afford to pay any. This was one intention; the ſecond was, to have a fund from which to pay the emiſſaries neceſſary for the completion of their plans. The third was, by mortgaging the church-lands for the payment, to aboliſh religion, and the laſt of all, to intereſt every one who ſhould have any aſſignats, in the ſucceſs of the revolution.

The firſt quantity of aſſignats voted, was 1,200,000,000, or 50 millions ſterling, the very ſum at which the Œconomiſts had eſtimated the ſpecie of the country."

Aſſignats went on regularly depreciating.—But the aſſignats though they ſunk in value when making purchaſes, ſtill preſerved it for four purpoſes: for the payment of rent, taxes, intereſt of money, and payment of debts. All thoſe who owed money haſtened to get rid of their engagements. Had the aſſignats been a permanent medium of payment, thoſe who lived by intereſt would have been entirely ruined, as they will be reduced to poverty in this country if ſilver and gold continue to depreciate [be depreciated] as they have done theſe laſt twenty years. In the common progreſs of depreciation, the cauſe operates ſo ſlowly that the effect is almoſt imperceptible. In France the operation was too quick to be inviſible or unfelt. Thoſe who were merely ſpectators were obliged to ſee, and thoſe who were concerned felt the effect ſeverely.

"In the employment of capital during the life of a man, this depreciation of money ſeldom enters into his motives, [meaning his calculations, ſchemes, or views]: but with reſpect to money borrowed by nations, or veſted at a certain rate of intereſt in any enterprize of any great duration, the effect is immenſe, and while the monied man keeps aloof from all the caſual expences

to which the poſſeſſion of other property is incident, he does not ſee that his capital is ſubject to a diminution, that will in time leave him poorer than thoſe whoſe ſituation does not ſeem to be ſo much beyond the reach of human viciſſitude. As no plan was ever more deeply laid, ſo none ever had more complete ſucceſs than that for ruining the church, the creditors of the ſtate, and at the ſame time binding all the people to the revolution; while the ſuſpenſion of the moſt obnoxious taxes that fell on the poorer claſſes, enabled the aſſembly to pay for idleneſs and cabals."

Here we have an inſtance of that extreme and moſt unfortunate inattention to grammatical conſtruction which occurs ſo often in the writings of this ſhrewd, well-informed, and ingenious writer. The ſuſpenſion of taxes could never furniſh means of any kind of payment. The author means that the aſſignats enabled the Aſſembly, notwithſtanding the ſuſpenſion of taxes, to pay for idleneſs and cabals, unleſs he means that the mob acted out of gratitude for this ſuſpenſion. He goes on—

"Some immenſe fortunes were realized from the ſmalleſt beginnings by jobbing in aſſignats, and vaſt numbers of perſons became proprietors of eſtates of conſiderable value, who a year or two before had been in extreme indigence.

"As the property of the clergy had been eſtimated at a certain ſum, it was clear, that when aſſignats to that amount ſhould be created, thoſe made afterwards muſt be founded on ſome other pledge for ſecurity. The eſtates of thoſe who had, from fear or principle, quitted their country, were for this purpoſe declared forfeited. Many were perſecuted on purpoſe to make them go away; and as the ſame expedient might be applied as often as it was found neceſſary, the pledge was now conſidered as ſufficient as to its amount. Another branch of the ancient order was lopt off, and the road to perfect equality rendered more eaſy.

"The eſtates that now came into the market were ſo many, that even payable in aſſignats they fell to five or ſix years purchaſe. It was a robbery committed on the free proprietor under the name of confiſcation, and a gift beſtowed on the falſe proprietor, under the appellation and with all the formalities of a legal ſale.

"Neither extenſion of the pledge, nor the laws written in blood for ſupporting their currency could ſupport the aſſignats, of which the quantity was unknown and the diſcredit without a parallel.

"Mandats, another name, with a ſpecific mortgage on a particular portion of territory, were invented as a means of reſtoring credit; but this was evidently, an impediment to the circulation, as money, though it facilitated the alienation of the confiſcated eſtates that were not yet diſpoſed of. At laſt the paper money fell nearly to one eighth per cent. of its nominal value. It coſt almoſt as much to make the aſſignats, as they would paſs for with the public, and then the nature of things put an end to the operation.

"Mirabeau the agent and the organ of the contrivers of this paper, had boldly foretold in the national aſſembly, in 1790, that the paper would become not of more value than the rags from which it was made. This event was not then accidental, it was foretold by the very perſons with whom the ſcheme originated, and thus the ancient order of things, the monarchy, the church, and the proprietors of land were completely ruined by a ſcheme of finance,

finance, executed in the courſe of a few years, by thoſe very œconomiſts who had been for near a century undermining them all.

"Here, however, the hiſtory of the French paper ends; for, except by the ſale of the property that was ſeized, there never was any mode taken of liquidating it.

"The paper money in France ceaſed to circulate, about the time that the bank of England ſuſpended its payments in ſpecie. The enemies of this country exulted greatly in the circumſtance, and many of its friends were alarmed, and had little to reply. At the firſt ſight, the re-appearance of ſpecie in France, at the time that it became ſcarce in England, ſeemed far from favourable to the latter nation; yet the two events had no connection, nor did they warrant the concluſions that were formed.

"The nature of the bank of England notes has been explained, and the way they are iſſued; their amount alſo is known. Were it really neceſſary to withdraw from circulation the notes of the bank of England, it might be done in a few months, without paying a ſingle ſhilling, or robbing one man of a farthing.

"The notes are all lent, either on the ſecurity of government or of private individuals in diſcount for bills of exchange, none of which have above two months to run. Let us ſuppoſe one half of the notes in currency have been iſſued in diſcount, then in 60 days eight millions of notes would have been paid into the bank by the acceptors of thoſe bills; the other half of the notes would come in from government, in conſequence of revenue pledged for their payment, and thus, by the ſimple operation of every perſon paying their debts, the bank of England would retire every note from circulation. The aſſignats were paid away for expences; the notes of the bank of England are lent on ſecurity, to be repaid at a ſhort and certain date. Therefore, in their nature and uſe, there is a complete difference, and the circumſtance of not paying in gold has nothing at all to do with the real credit of the bank of England.

"A paper created by a ſtate, for the reimburſement of which there is no fund aſſigned, is the eaſieſt and moſt effectual mode that has ever been deviſed for the purpoſe of getting the property of individuals into the hands of thoſe who rule. It is a way of committing a robbery with eaſe and regularity, the loſs is not immediate, and ſubdivides itſelf by affecting every one who has property, and making them bear a greater or leſſer ſhare.

"A deſcription of this unique operation carried on with regularity (as it was in Flanders in 1794, when the Auſtrians, Engliſh, and Dutch armies evacuated it) may not be miſplaced here, though it is rather a digreſſion; but it is a remarkable inſtance of the improper uſe that may be made of that excellent invention, paper credit; an invention but of recent date, and which has very greatly altered the ſituation of mankind, particularly in the commercial world.

"The French general Pichegru, ſo ſoon as the retreat became certain and regular, (that was, before the Engliſh army had abandoned its poſition to the ſouth-eaſt of Antwerp,) ſent a printed tarif, on a very large ſheet of paper into every town on his approach. There were ſome of thoſe papers in Antwerp, ſeveral days before the Engliſh had abandoned the neighbouring country.

"The tariff ſpecified the price payable in aſſignats of every article of merchandiſe. All ſorts of proviſions, even eggs, milk, and the produce of the garden, were included, as well as corn, cattle, &c. Cloth, hats, ſtock-

ings, hardware, and every thing that could be thought of was mentioned, and when neceſſary, the quality or the ſize was deſcribed.

"The price fixed ſeemed to people in the country equitable. They were unacquainted with the depreciating career of the aſſignats, and the prices were about 25 per cent. higher than thoſe for hard money.

"Accompanying this, was a declaration or order, that every citizen ſhould give in a ſchedule or liſt of all ſuch articles in his poſſeſſion, ſpecifying the quantity on hand, in order that, on demand, any quantity required ſhould be produced. This they termed putting in a ſtate of requiſition, a term ſo appropriately applied, that thoſe who certainly would not imitate the act, have adopted the word. Thoſe who complied with this were to be paid at the moment of delivery, and to be protected from every injury to which the property of a conquered people is liable. Thoſe who refuſed were to have ſoldiers quartered upon them at diſcretion, and property concealed was to be confiſcated.

"It is eaſy to conceive the effect of this artful mode of proceeding. The French were even ſaved the trouble of looking out for the ſpoil which they were to ſhare.

"The forced currency of the aſſignats from citizen to citizen, was at the ſame time decreed, ſo that without much reluctance they ſold to the French the ſame goods that they muſt either keep or ſell to a neighbour on equal terms, and for which they received in payment a ſpecies of money, which, though they did not much like it, they could force others to receive again.

"Whatever was wanted, either for the maintenance or clothing of the troops, was immediately demanded and obtained. Whatever it ſuited the rulers at Paris to demand, was ſent off into the interior of France; even the trees in the foreſts were cut down and ſent away, and in a very ſhort time that fruitful and rich country was deprived nearly of all that was either good to conſume or fit to carry off.

"When this operation was finiſhed, a decree was made by the aſſembly, then called a convention, ordering all the aſſignats circulating in the conquered countries to be ſtamped on the back with a mark, and prohibiting their re-introduction into France, but even this was only the prelude to another decree not more nefarious, for that was impoſſible, but more audaciouſly unjuſt. It was decreed that all the aſſignats in circulation in the conquered countries, ſhould be reduced to one-twentieth of their nominal value! The buſineſs was done, and there was no longer any occaſion to ſoothe a people who were completely ruined aud ſubdued. The motives for this decree are not very evident, for as the aſſignats circulated there, and were forbidden in France, it muſt have been a matter of no moment, at what price they circulated in the countries to which they were confined*.

"This tranſaction, unparalleled in the annals of nations, for the regularity of the injuſtice was conducted under the eyes of a general, who has ſince been well received by the French princes and thoſe who eſpouſed their cauſe. A change of fortune occaſioned in him a change of conduct, and he has ſince fallen a victim in a deſperate cauſe, after proving victorious in one that was immeaſurably bad."

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* "The church plate and fine pictures were put in requiſition, amongſt other articles which the French coveted to poſſeſs."

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The brief but very luminous account given by our author of the *aſſignats* and *mandats* is extremely intereſting and important. The reader regrets, that this ſubject did not come within the circle of Dr. Smith's obſervations. This new ſpecies of public or political robbery has taught any bold junto of inſurgents how, by ſeizing on the grand agent of PUBLIC CREDIT, the great banker of civilization, to ſubvert kingdoms and change the face of the world. From the time that war ceaſed to be carried on by the ſpear and arrow of the feudatory vaſſal, it became a buſineſs of vaſt expence, and was generally determined more by finance than by arms. But after the diſcovery of America, and the paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, Europe became the emporium of the world; and the European ſtates were gradually drawn into the intermixed relations of one great commonwealth, the ſeparate branches of which were dependent upon each other, from their reciprocal wants and ſeparate productions, while they retained their ſeparate independence, for the common benefit. They had, in fact, without adverting to it, but one common ſtock, of which public faith, or what is called public credit, was the guardian, as private faith, or perſonal credit, ſupported the agency of individual concerns. When ſtates ſo ſituated went to war with each other, bounds were preſented to its duration by the enormity of its expence. Like parties involved in a law-ſuit, the winner could gain but little, while he had to pay the coſts of his victories. The Belligerent Powers, moſt exhauſted, were obliged by new impoſitions, to raiſe the price of their particular manufactures and produce; ſo that a prolonged ſtate of warfare became a general tax.

The funded ſyſtem, introduced by political neceſſity, completed the intermixture of the property of Europe. The ſtates at war borrowed from thoſe at peace. The ſums borrowed, called a funded debt, being made transferable, become an article of trade; and thus the debts of the European ſtates, like their manufactures, became articles of an intermediate commerce. Holland, for example, had been for a century accumulating the profits of a pacific commerce, for the mere purpoſe of lending them to the ſtates who were diſtreſſed by war. It is from this fortunate and peculiar ſituation of modern Europe, as a great fœderal and commercial commonwealth, chiefly, that we are to account for the manner in which her internal wars were cloſed from the peace of Weſtphalia to the French revolution. The power of a Charlemagne could not ariſe amidſt ſimilar circumſtances. That of Lewis XIV. and of Catherine II. found their ſucceſſive repreſſions.

But the Revolutionary war of France was a war of a new character. It was neither a war of chieftainſhip nor of religion, nor of the balance of power, nor of colonization and commerce. No! it was a war in which the multitude were excited againſt the magiſtrate, and phyſical force made to bear againſt that public opinion, which was equally the guardian of eſtabliſhed authority, and of private property. Had the revolutionary war of France derived its aliment from the common ſources of contribution, it might have been reduced to a

ſpeedy concluſion by the ordinary tactics of reſiſtance. But the ſinews of the new war were acquired by reverſing the order of private and public credit; by iſſuing a ſign of property, which was, in fact, a confiſcation of the whole wealth of the antient proprietors of France, as well as a fraud committed on her foreign creditors.

The aſſignats, the firſt treaſury of the revolutionary war now gradually depreciated, indeed, and became finally of very little and almoſt of no value: but not until they had repelled invaſion, and carried the conteſt into the heart of Holland, Germany, Italy and Spain; not till the place of regular and fair reſources was ſupplied by the tribute of conqueſt. It may be fairly deduced as a corollory from all this, that there is not the ſmalleſt reaſon, from a retroſpect of the havoc made by the volcanic eruption of the war of aſſignats, and ſpoliation, to preſage a ſimilar iſſue to the preſent French war that muſt be fed by the uſual and regular reſources.

Among the moſt antient nations, the Hindoos and the Chineſe, PUBLIC CREDIT, the univerſal banker, on whoſe pledged faith all depend, is not to be ruined even by revolutions of Government. In India the ſprings of war depend on the credit of a CASTE; the Saukars, whoſe buſineſs it is to keep the money of the land; and this rule the ſovereign is obliged to reſpect whether he be an hereditary ſovereign, or a ſovereign by conqueſt.

This Caſte lends the money that is neceſſary for the King to pay his army and feed his court: and, for repayment of ſuch loans, the King gives the ſaukars or bankers, orders on the cultivators of ground *. In China, when many neighbouring nations of which that nation was once compoſed, made war on one another, and ſupported it with baſe money, ſuch money was called in on the reſtoration of peace, and nothing was attempted by government to be circulated as money, but the precious metals or uſeful merchandize.

In the Weſt the order of things is different. The whole body of the people are, or may become money lenders, and pledge mutual ſecurity for the repayment of loans. The repreſentatives of the people, or perhaps a number of men, united among themſelves, only calling themſelves ſuch, can make money of linen rags. The proper ſyſtem of the Americans effected their object. And the French aſſignats on the gulph of bankruptcy, paved the way to conqueſt. The grand concluſion to be drawn from all theſe obſervations, is, that ſince anarchy and rebellion began to ſyſtematize themſelves into a regular conſtitution, on the ruin of PUBLIC CREDIT and private property, the preventive of future diſorder of this kind muſt be ſought for on a re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe great guardian principles that have been

* By the adoption of this ſyſtem of Hindoo finance, Sir John Macpherſon, Governor General of India, about 1786, reſtored order to the embarraſſed affairs of the Eaſt India Company and effected a clear ſaving of one million in their annual expenditure.

violated;

violated: the protection of private property, and the ſecurity of the rights of nations. If the co-eſtates of Europe had been wiſe they would have united as one family, as one man, to react, repel, and ſubdue the ſpoliations of France. They ſhould never have ſheathed the ſword, or given any peace to France, under any of all the varying forms of goverment ſhe aſſumed, without funding the aſſignats. The majorities of repreſentatives from the lower and poorer orders of France, who confiſcated without heſitation, the lands of the Clergy, of the Nobles, the Crown, and in a word all that was landed or real property in France. The paper money, hypothecated on thoſe properties, the celebrated aſſignats, became the Treaſury of the Revolution, and the guillotine, its Chancellor of Exchequer. Any repreſentation of the people of a great ſtate that could avail itſelf, legally of confiſcation, for ſupplying the exigencies of the newly created Government, would be a deſpot more dangerous than any tyrant in Aſia or Turkey to that ſtate itſelf, and the example ſet to other nations more pernicious than any enormity committed againſt the rights of nations, and even of war among civilized nations. Againſt ſuch attempts all nations ſhould combine; and for their repreſſion contribute their juſt quotas of men and money as is done by the ſtates compoſing the German empire. A general confederacy formed for this expreſs purpoſe in the progreſs of time and events, might perhaps be improved into a laſting peace eſtabliſhment of Europe.*

Mr. Playfair having given an hiſtorical ſketch of the riſe, principles, and progreſs of the Œconomiſts, thinks it neceſſary to ſhew that the enmity excited againſt the corporations of all ſorts, was partly owing to the general deſign of overturning the exiſting (according to our authors uſual barbariſm of ſtyle *then* exiſting) order of things; and farther to obſerve, that what may be very well in theory is ſometimes very dangerous in practice.

"The œconomiſts not only thought that individual ſagacity is the beſt guide in matters of commerce, in which Dr. Smith agrees with them, but they ſeemed to hold human virtue in great eſteem. In this laſt point, they however differ completely from Dr. Smith, who expreſſes himſelf ſometimes in terms of great aſperity with reſpect to the mean and ſelfiſh principle on which he ſuppoſes all men in buying, ſelling, or trafficking, are perpetually acting.

"But why does Dr. Smith here expreſs himſelf with ſuch aſperity againſt the ſelfiſh principle, and in other places allow every man to purſue his own intereſt in his own way? Has he forgotten that the buyer is ſometimes in the power of the ſeller, owing to circumſtances and the nature of things, without any law in favour of the latter? As the purchaſe of a

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* On the neceſſity of a union of force and finance for repreſſing the ſpoliations of anarchy, and the impoſitions of fraudulent paper, ſee the correſpondence of a traveller with a miniſter of ſtate in Turin, in 1792, Debrett.

burying

burying ground by Abraham, for ſhekels of ſilver, is quoted as a proof of the early uſe of money, the tranſaction of his grandſon Eſau, who ſold his birthright for a breakfaſt, is one very nearly of equal antiquity, and the ſame authority to eſtabliſh, in certain caſes, the monopoly of commodities.

" In Egypt, a moſt fruitful country in ordinary ſeaſons, but liable to fail ſometimes from the particular circumſtance of the river Nile not overflowing the low plains on its banks bordered on one ſide by the ſea, to which the Egyptians had an averſion, and on the others by the moſt barren countries in the world, it was the practice to collect corn in public granaries, but thoſe granaries do not appear to have been monopolized by the king, till his miniſter, Joſeph, ſuggeſted it as a mode of extending his maſter's revenue and power. Had Pharoah been actuated merely by a deſign to ſave his ſubjects, he would not have ſeized the opportunity of treating them with ſuch unexampled ſeverity, and if in the line of proviſions, the purchaſer were not ſometimes in the power of the ſeller, he would not have had the means.

" As there are examples in which the legiſlature has interfered between the individual and the uſe of his property; the queſtion of when it may and when it may not do ſo, is not a queſtion of general right and wrong, but a queſtion of expediency, and depending upon circumſtances.

" The general principles of Dr. Smith's freedom of trade do not then appear to apply to the commerce in grain; and the reaſon of the error has been given in a ſupplementary chapter on that ſubject. This is one of the moſt material and dangerous miſtakes into which he has fallen inadvertently; but had he lived to the preſent day, he would probably have altered his opinion as much about the monopoliſts, regraters, and foreſtallers in England, as he certainly would have done about the ſect of œconomiſts in France.

" Another miſtake ſeems to be, that the capital drawn to any trade by a bounty is drawn from ſome other more beneficial trade; and alſo, that there is more advantage in trading with France than with North America, becauſe the credits to the latter are ſo long, that the capital employed in American trade is drawn from a more advantageous to a leſs advantageous line of commerce. This is upon the idea that there is not ſufficient capital in the kingdom to anſwer every purpoſe, which is a miſtake, and therefore, neither bounties nor long credits are to be objected to, on the general principle of their abſorbing a capital that might be better employed. The reaſoning may apply in poor countries where credit and confidence are not eſtabliſhed, but it will not apply to England.

" In 1792, when this country had a great increaſe of trade, capital was more abundant than at any time ſince the beginning of the American war; yet in the following year, when our trade declined prodigiouſly, the diſtreſs of the mercantile world for capital was ſo great, that government was under the neceſſity of coming forward for the relief of ſome of the firſt merchants and manufacturers in the kingdom.

" In treating of corporations and apprenticeſhips it has been ſhewn, that Dr. Smith's arguments are in ſome degree erroneous. With regard to the corporation privileges, the objections made are in a great degree done away; and where they are not, they have not much effect, and the advantages obtained in ſome caſes by thoſe who have ſerved regular apprenticeſhips, are a ſort of bounty on the proper education of the productive part of ſociety; for to learn to gain a living, and to work well, is the moſt eſſential part of the education of that claſs of ſociety.

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"The ſubject divides itſelf into two; one ſimply as an agreement to repay by ſervitude the trouble and expence the maſter is at in teaching and maintaining a youth while his ſervices are of no value. The other conſideration is that of a regular apprenticeſhip, entitling the apprentice to particular privileges; this laſt is another queſtion, and depends on particular circumſtances, and even when misjudged does very little harm.

"Dr. Smith's obſervation, that when a ſtick is bent one way too much, it muſt be bent the other in order to ſtraighten it, will apply to himſelf, as well as to the œconomiſts of France, though not in the ſame degree. The abuſes that have exiſted by too many privileges, reſtrictions, and regulations, have certainly rendered the danger of ſuch practices evident; but we have ſtrong examples in our own times, of the danger of following one general ſyſtem of perfect freedom of commerce, leaving all to the care, the ſagacity, and management of individuals, in the moſt important as well as the moſt frivolous branches of trade.

"No ſooner were the laws againſt uſury in France left unexecuted, than the intereſt of money roſe to an enormous height; would it not do the ſame thing in every other country? If regulation is uſeful in one ſingle inſtance, does it not reduce the queſtion of liberty of trade to one of circumſtances and expediency, and therefore not ſafe to be followed boldly, as an unerring ſyſtem, founded upon general pinciples?

"But I aſcribe little merit to myſelf in diſcovering errors at this time, in a book written on ſo intricate a ſubject, before any of thoſe great experiments were made that have now thrown a totally different light on many ſubjects, but on none more completely than on the danger of being guided by a ſyſtem, as a mariner at ſea is by the compaſs, when out of view of the coaſt. In human affairs, the circumſtances are too various to admit of the ſtrict application of general principle in every caſe, and no perſons have been more fatally and more completely deceived than thoſe who have truſted to the wiſdom and juſtice of individuals, for the regulation of the affairs of a great nation.

"Thoſe who have imagined that there was a poſſibility of making men rich and happy by regulations upon regulations, or that trade would flouriſh under ſuch a ſyſtem, have undoubtedly been greatly miſtaken, but it will not do to take the reverſe of what is wrong for right. If we are to judge from effects, we might conclude that England, which has followed a middle road, has thereby avoided the evils that attend either extreme; and that therefore the ſafeſt way is to endeavour to ameliorate and improve, not to abandon our preſent ſyſtem, which ſometimes admits of regulations."

This laſt paragraph is a ſpecimen of that ſpirit of moderation, and we may ſay, ſafe gradation of reform, that runs throughout the whole of his ſhare in the preſent publication. The raſh and violent meaſures of innovation do not meet the praiſe of genius or invention. There is more invention in retaining what is eſtabliſhed, and yet drawing good out of defect, and imperfection, by proper modification. It would be unjuſt to withhold from Mr. Playfair the praiſe of both ingenouſneſs and a well regulated and patriotic ſobriety of mind, that would not ſtake the happineſs of a nation on one deſperate throw—neck or nothing: but would ſeek the public welfare by gradual ameliorations.

To be concluded in our next.)

Introduction

1. *Introduction to the New Teſtament.* By John David Michaelis, &c.

(Continued from P. 371.)

2. *Remarks on* Michaelis's *Introduction, to the New Teſtament.*

IN our review of this valuable work of Michaelis on the Chriſtian Scriptures, we have hitherto been aided by the admirable notes of the learned tranſlator; but of that aid we are now deprived. Mr. Marſh neither corrects the errors into which his author may have fallen, when treating of the apoſtolical epiſtles, nor adds any thing to the force of his arguments, when urged in ſupport of the truth. This is the more to be regretted, that Michaelis, as we have ſeen *, is frequently inaccurate in his quotations; and accuracy, as well as erudition, is peculiarly requiſite to him who would throw light on the epiſtles of St. Paul. Theſe epiſtles, like all other writings of the ſame ſpecies, can be thoroughly underſtood only by him who knows the opinions, practices, and manners of thoſe to whom they were addreſſed; and ſuch knowledge implies erudition at once varied and recondite. That Michaelis was learned is incontrovertible; but he ſeems to have been accuſtomed to truſt implicitly to his memory, when he ought to have conſulted the works to which he appeals. A reviewer has not leiſure to trace his quotations always to their ſource; nor is every work to which he appeals acceſſible to the writer of the preſent article. All, therefore, that we can do, is to examine the ſtrength of the reaſoning, and to point out ſuch inaccuracies as we have been able to detect; and this taſk we will endeavour to perform without prejudice or partiality.

Michaelis begins his analyſis of the epiſtles of St. Paul, with obſerving what has often been obſerved by others, that theſe epiſtles are not publiſhed in the order of time in which they were written. Of the truth of this opinion, we think there can be no doubt; but it is an opinion of, perhaps, no great importance. The object of the epiſtles is to correct errors which were prevalent among thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, and to declare the truth as it is in Jeſus. They may be read, therefore, with almoſt equal advantage in any order; becauſe, though the epiſtle to the Galatians may have been written before either of the epiſtles to the Corinthians, the epiſtles to the Corinthians may be perfectly underſtood by him who knows the religious and moral ſtate of Corinth at the time when they were written, though we know nothing of the opinions agitated or the practices prevalent among the Galatians. If, indeed, it was the practice of one community of Chriſtians to ſend ſuch epiſtles as were addreſſed to it to the other Chriſtian communities in its neighbourhood; and if this practice was known to the Apoſtle, it might be of great conſequence to ſtudy his epiſtles in the order in which they were written; but that

* See our 18th Vol. p. 131.

ſuch

ſuch a practice was *general*, there is no evidence, and very little probability.

It has been a queſtion among Theologians, whether St. Paul wrote any other epiſtles on the doctrines of Chriſtianity than thoſe which have come down to us. Lardner, whoſe judgment on ſuch queſtions is entitled to regard, thinks, with many others, that he did not; and Michaelis, who is of the contrary opinion, endeavours to confute his arguments. He paſſes, however, without notice, what appears to us the moſt concluſive of all thoſe arguments; but as the queſtion is equally unimportant with the former, we ſhall not enter into the controverſy. Perhaps we are inclined to adopt the opinion of our author as the moſt probable of the two; for, as he obſerves,

"It was no more neceſſary, that all the epiſtles of the apoſtles ſhould be preſerved, than that all the diſcourſes of Chriſt, which were certainly of not leſs importance, ſhould be recorded by the Evangeliſts, who have thought proper only to deliver a ſelect part of them. A Bible, or book of divine revelation, which is intended as a rule of faith and manners, muſt, at the ſame time, that it contains every neceſſary precept, contain them likewiſe in a moderate compaſs. If the Bible conſiſted of many folios, as it probably would, if it contained an account of all the actions and ſpeeches of Chriſt, and all that was written by the apoſtles, few perſons would read the whole of it; and even of thoſe, who gave themſelves the trouble, perhaps not one would be able to retain in his memory the whole of its contents." (Vol. IV. p. 7.)

Our author aſſigns ſeveral very plauſible arguments in ſupport of his opinion, that the epiſtle to the Galatians was the firſt of thoſe which St. Paul, in his apoſtolical character, wrote and addreſſed to any ſociety of Chriſtians, and propoſes the year 49 as the moſt probable date of it. The object which the apoſtle had in view, was to reclaim the Galatians from certain errors into which they had been ſeduced by a Jewiſh ſect then abounding in Galatia and all the neighbouring countries. It was, he ſays, the new Phariſaic ſect founded by Judas Galilæus; and he repreſents the members of that ſect as ſuch zealots for the Moſaic law, that they ſcrupled not to preach Chriſtianity, only that they might have an opportunity of delivering it with a mixture of Judaiſm. They aſſured the Galatian converts, that St. Peter, as well as the whole Church at Jeruſalem, obſerved the rites of the law, that St. Paul was no more than a delegate from that Church, and could preach with authority no other doctrine than ſhe preached and practiſed; that the promiſes were made *only* to the children of Abraham, who muſt either have ſprung from him by natural deſcent, or be adopted into his family by the rite of circumciſion; and that St. Paul himſelf had, ſince his viſit to the Galatians, been convinced of the neceſſity of circumciſion, as appeared from his having ordered Timothy to be circumciſed, though the ſon of a Greek.

Now, were it certain, that the followers of Judas, who unqueſtionably differed in many reſpects from the Phariſees of the old ſchool, were of a zeal ſo artful and accommodating as this, much light would be thrown

thrown on various paſſages of the epiſtle before us, from which very extraordinary doctrines have been deduced; but for this account of the ſeducers of the Galatian converts Michaelis produces no authority whatever. Once, indeed, he refers to a work of his own, in which he has given, he ſays, an extract from Joſephus, relative to the new Phariſaical ſect; but we recollect no paſſage in Joſephus in which any Jewiſh ſect is repreſented as profeſſing themſelves Chriſtians, merely that they might have a better opportunity of corrupting the goſpel, and bringing back its adherents to the law of Moſes. The conjectures, however, of our author, ſhould they paſs for nothing more, are worthy of conſideration; for that ſuch zeal and ſuch arts as he aſcribes to the followers of Judas are poſſible, is put beyond the reach of controverſy, by the conduct of the emiſſaries of the Church of Rome on various occaſions, in Proteſtant countries.

The firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians is by our author conſidered as the ſecond which St. Paul wrote in his apoſtolical character; and he aſſigns very probable reaſons for believing it to have been written in the year 51. The objects of it were to confirm the converts in the faith which they had embraced; to enforce obedience to the paſtors of the infant Church; and to rectify the miſtakes into which the Theſſalonians had fallen, with reſpect to the near approach of the day of judgment.

"The Jews in general believed that the Meſſiah would erect a temporal kingdom, in which they were to enjoy liberty and reſt: and of this kingdom they concluded their Sabbath to be a type. Hence they concluded, that it muſt commence at leaſt as early as at the beginning of the ſixth Millennium*, from the creation of the world: and they thought it not improbable, that it would begin much ſooner. For, as the moſt devout Jews did not wait till ſun-ſet, but began their Sabbath and abſtinence from labour ſeveral hours before, ſo they imagined that the Deity would begin the great Sabbath ſeveral hours, that is centuries, before the ſix thouſand years from the creation were expired. Theſe notions inſinuated themſelves very early among the Chriſtians; and they were received, not only by the Theſſalonians, but by ſeveral of the antient fathers. As the firſt epiſtle had not produced its proper effect, and ſeveral members of the Theſſalonian community ſtill maintained that the day of judgment was at hand, and others continued their diſorderly conduct, the apoſtle thought it neceſſary to write to them again very ſoon after he had written his firſt epiſtle. In his ſecond epiſtle, therefore, he endeavours to ſhew, from ſome prophecies of the Old Teſtament not then fulfilled, that the day of judgment was not ſo ſoon to be expected: and at the ſame time he cautions the Theſſalonians againſt idleneſs and irregularity." (Pp. 27, 28, 29.)

Our author does not attempt to aſcertain the place at which the ſecond epiſtle was written; but he ſeems to have proved completely that the firſt was written, not at Athens, as the ſubſcription imports, but

* Should it not be the *ſeventh* millenium?——Rev.

at

at Corinth; and he aſſigns very ſufficient reaſons for the miſtake reſpecting the day of judgment being more prevalent among the Theſſalonians than among the Chriſtian converts at almoſt any other place. "In Theſſalonica was a very numerous colony of Jews, and their ſynagogue was ſo celebrated, that St. Luke calls it *, by way of eminence, η συναγωγη, or, the ſynagogue."

The epiſtle to Titus, which our author conſiders as the fourth of St. Paul's in the order of time, was written, according to Lardner, about the year 56, from the vicinity of Nicopolis in Macedonia. Michaelis does not pretend to decide on the *year when* it was written, but he contends, with much correctneſs, that it was written not from *any place in Macedonia*, but from Nicopolis in Epira. The queſtion at iſſue between theſe two critics appears not to us to be of the ſmalleſt importance, but it may be worth while, if only to ſhew how eaſily the moſt vigorous mind is warped by attachment to a favourite hypotheſis, to examine one or two of the arguments by which our author endeavours to prove the truth of the hypotheſis which he has adopted.

"St. Paul ſays to Titus (Ch. iii. 12.), *When I ſhall ſend Artemas to thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis: for I have determined there to winter.* Now, from this paſſage, if we knew what Nicopolis St. Paul meant, and when he was there, the date of this epiſtle would be at once decided. For St. Paul muſt have been either *in Nicopolis*, or in the neighbourhood of the place, when he wrote this epiſtle, becauſe, as there were many cities of this name, it would have been totally uſeleſs to have deſired Titus to come to him at Nicopolis, unleſs the place, where he wrote the epiſtle had determined what Nicopolis he meant." (P. 33.)

This reaſoning is by no means concluſive. That St. Paul, when he wrote the epiſtle was not *in* Nicopolis, is evident from his ſaying, not "I have determined *here*, but I have determined *there* to winter—Εκει κεκρικα παραχειμασαι." That he wrote from the *neighbourhood* of Nicopolis *may be* true; but it does not appear from this verſe, which ſays not where the epiſtle was written. According to the ſubſcription, it was written at Nicopolis of Macedonia; but to that ſubſcription our author thinks, and very juſtly, that no credit is due. From nothing, therefore, in the epiſtle itſelf could Titus infer at *which* of the cities or towns named Nicopolis, the apoſtle had determined to winter; but as our author acknowledges that St. Paul had not long before parted from Titus in Crete, we think there is no room to doubt, but that he had then told a fellow labourer, in whom he had ſuch confidence, what places he propoſed to viſit in diſcharging the duties of his apoſtolical functions. On no other ſuppoſition, if, as we believe, the ſubſcription be ſpurious, could Titus indeed know where to find the apoſtle; for, as it is not probable that on letters there were put dates and poſt *marks* then, as there are now in Europe, the place

* Acts XVII. 1.

where

where he wrote the epiſtle could not have determined *what* Nicopolis he meant.

But if Titus was informed in Crete by St. Paul himſelf what Nicopolis he meant ſoon to viſit, our author's hypotheſis "that it was certainly Nicopolis in Epira," muſt be given up, or eſtabliſhed by arguments very different from thoſe which he has employed in its ſupport.

"It is true, that, in returning from Crete to Corinth, Epira lay quite out of his way: but he might have been driven thither in a *ſtorm*; and, perhaps, at this very time he ſuffered one of the three *ſhipwrecks* which he mentions in his ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians. In this caſe he would have paſſed the winter at Nicopolis, and have preached the goſpel, as he himſelf ſays, round about Illyricum." (P. 37.)

But if he told Titus himſelf what Nicopolis he meant to viſit, and on no other ſuppoſition can we conceive with what propriety he could deſire Titus to meet him at Nicopolis, it is obvious that he could not have been *unexpectedly* driven thither by a *ſtorm*; nor is it probable that he had ſuffered ſhipwreck on the coaſt, as ſuch a diſaſter is not mentioned in the epiſtle.

The author has other arguments in ſupport of his hypotheſis equally weak with this; but, as the queſtion is of no importance, we ſhall not examine them. The hypotheſis of Lardner is countenanced by the ſubſcription, which, though not written by the apoſtle, is of high antiquity: it was the hypotheſis likewiſe of Chryſoſtom and Theodorite, as that of Michaelis was of Jerom.

Our author's chapter on St. Paul's two epiſtles to the Corinthians contains much intereſting matter; but it is hardly ſuſceptible of abridgement. He proves, to our ſatisfaction, that the firſt of theſe epiſtles was written at Epheſus, about the year 57, and the ſecond in Macedonia, about the year 58 of our æra; but he is decidedly of opinion, and has advanced very ſpecious arguments in ſupport of that opinion, that the apoſtle had written to the Chriſtian community at Corinth an epiſtle prior to either of thoſe which have come down to us. He regrets the loſs of that epiſtle, as well as of the anſwer which the Corinthians ſeem to have ſent to it; but without theſe aids, he gives a very plauſible account of the ſtate of the Church in Corinth, of the origin of its ſchiſms, and of the leaders of thoſe ſchiſms. The advocates for the common rights of Chriſtians have often appealed to St. Paul's epiſtles to the Corinthians, as authority for their practice of permitting any individual of the congregation to ſpeak in public for the edification of the brethren; but it is here ſhewn, that none but ſuch as had received extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghoſt were allowed to ſpeak alternately in the Corinthian congregations.

It has been ſometimes a matter of ſurpriſe, that St. Paul condeſcended to regulate the dreſs of the Corinthians, and the length of their hair in the houſe of God; but for theſe regulations our author aſſigns the moſt ſatisfactory reaſons. It is ſhewn that the Jewiſh cuſtom of the

the men covering their heads, and veiling their faces in the ſynagogue, which had been adopted by the Corinthian Chriſtians, was ſcandalous in the eyes of the Greeks, and therefore properly forbidden by the apoſtle; whilſt the women were prohibited from uncovering their faces, becauſe it was the practice of women of bad character among the Jews, as well as of the Bacchæ, and other pretended prophetesſes among the Greeks. The reader, therefore, as our author obſerves, will not think it extraordinary, that St. Paul, in the eleventh chapter of the firſt epiſtle, ſhould oppoſe cuſtoms at once ſuperſtitious and offenſive.

It has been objected to the two epiſtles to the Corinthians, that it was impoſſible to contract a marriage ſo inceſtuous as that which is there cenſured; for though the Athenian laws permitted marriage between very near relations, yet as ſoon as Greece became a Roman province, the Roman laws were introduced, by which a marriage with a ſtep-mother was ſtrictly prohibited. To this our author replies, that the inceſtuous marriage at Corinth was undoubtedly contracted under the alleged ſanction of the Jewiſh law.

"The Jews pretend that a proſelyte by baptiſm becomes a deſcendant of Abraham, and in ſo ſtrict a ſenſe, that all former relations immediately ceaſe. Hence they drew this concluſion, *that a heathen was at liberty to marry his mother, or his own sister, as soon as she was regenerate by baptism* *. Now the Jews were at that time permitted to live according to their own laws †; and the Chriſtians were conſidered as a Jewiſh ſect. In particular the privilege of marrying according to their own cuſtoms, and without any regard to the Roman civil law, they retained till the time of Theodoſius, who deprived them of it in the ſtatute entitled De Judæis et Cælicolis ‡, where we find the following clauſe:—Nemo Judæorum morem ſuum in conjunctionibus retineat, nec juxta legem ſuam nuptias ſortiatur. The inceſtuous marriage, therefore, of which St. Paul complains, might be ſolemnized, to the great offence of the heathens, under the ſanction of Judaiſm or Chriſtianity. And the Corinthian community had approved it, probably becauſe the Jewiſh teacher, who oppoſed St. Paul, had defended it by arguing from the Jewiſh doctrines of baptiſm and regeneration." (Pp. 52, 53.)

This, we think, a very probable account of what, received by itſelf, or in connection with the Roman law, muſt appear to every man not a little extraordinary. The apoſtle gives likewiſe ſeveral directions about marriage, of which he ſeems to talk to the Corinthians as of an inſtitution barely lawful, that are here explained in a manner highly ſatisfactory; but for that explanation, as well as for many other things of great importance, we muſt refer our readers to the work itſelf.

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* "See Meimonides in liſſure Biah. cap. iv. Selden de uxore, Heb. Lib. II. cap. xviii. and De jure nat. et Gent. Lib. II. cap. iv."

† "Joſeph. Antiq. Lib. XVI.

‡ "In ſeventh book of the Theodorian Code."

In our author's opinion, the firſt epiſtle to Timothy was written about the ſame time with the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians; and its object, he thinks, was to guard the Epheſian Chriſtians from the doctrines and cuſtoms of the Jewiſh Eſſenes. Theſe he enumerates from Joſephus, Philo, Pliny, and other authors, and gives a very plauſible account of the means by which they found their way into Epheſus; but we muſt acknowledge that the account reſts upon no ſolid evidence. It is a probable conjecture, but nothing more than a conjecture; though it will be readily admitted by the theological *ſtudent*, for the light which it appears to throw on what St. Paul ſays of thoſe who abſtain from meats, and forbid to marry. Whether well or ill founded the conjecture is perfectly harmleſs; but as we are not convinced of its truth, we ſhall extract nothing which is ſaid in its ſupport.

The chapter employed on the epiſtle to the Romans is of much greater importance. That epiſtle, our author thinks, was written towards the end of the year 58; and as no apoſtle had then viſited Rome, the object of St. Paul was to lay before the Roman converts a ſhort abſtract of the principal truths of the goſpel, which he had reaſon to apprehend might have been in ſome degree miſrepreſented by thoſe Jewiſh Chriſtians from whom they had firſt heard them. The epiſtle was dictated to an emanuenſis of the name of Tertius, about whom, as our author obſerves, it is needleſs to aſk queſtions, which never can receive an anſwer. He has proved that Tertius was neither Silas, as ſome have ſuppoſed, nor St. Paul himſelf, as others have imagined; and that is all which he affirms of him with confidence.

The moſt prominent errors of the Jews, and Jewiſh Chriſtians, were the falſe notions which they entertained concerning *juſtification*, *election*, and the *obedience due by the deſcendants of Abraham to a foreign power*, ſuch as the Roman Emperor; and theſe errors the apoſtle labours to confute. The Jews aſſigned three grounds of juſtification: 1. "The extraordinary piety and merits of their anceſtors, and the covenant made by God with thoſe holy men." 2. "The knowledge which they had of God through the law of Moſes, and their diligence in the ſtudy of that law;" and 3. "The works of the Levitical law, more eſpecially ſacrifices, which were to expiate ſin." That ſuch were really the notions of a large party among the Jews, our author proves abundantly, by quotations from the writings of their own Rabbis, whilſt he ſhews that in every thing which St. Paul ſays of juſtification in his epiſtle to the Romans, he had one or other of theſe notions in view. On the ſubject of juſtification, however, the reader will find greater ſatisfaction in the writings of ſome of our own divines, particularly Biſhop Bull and Dr. Waterland, than in any thing to be found in this work of Michaelis, though we beg leave to recommend it likewiſe to the attention, more particularly, of our *true Churchmen*.

"The queſtion relative to predeſtination and election, which St. Paul diſcuſſes in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of the epiſtle to the Romans,

mans, is totally different from that which has engaged the attention of Chriſtians from the time of Auguſtin, and ſeparates at preſent the Lutheran from the Calviniſt Church. The greateſt confuſion, therefore, would be occaſioned in the ſtudy of the epiſtle to the Romans, if we applied to the modern controverſy on predeſtination and election, what St. Paul has written in this epiſtle againſt the Jewiſh nations, which had no reſemblance to any of the opinions maintained by Chriſtian polemics. God had promiſed Abraham to bleſs his ſeed, to give it not only the true and ſpiritual bleſſing, but likewiſe the land of Canaan, to ſuffer it to dwell there in proſperity, and to conſider it as his Church upon earth. This promiſe the Jews extended to their whole nation, and aſſerted that God was bound to fulfil it toward every Jew, as being a deſcendant of Abraham, whatever his principles, or whatever his conduct might be. The Jews went even ſo far as to aſſert that, if a prophet were inſpired with prophecies unfavourable to their nation, he ought not to pronounce them, and that he was bound to reſiſt the will of God, by praying like Moſes, that his name might rather be expunged from the book of the living. It was on this account, that St. Paul, in the five firſt verſes of the ninth chapter, makes ſo cautious, and almoſt timorous a tranſition to the queſtion, which he was going to diſcuſs.

"As it may appear incredible, that ſuch doctrines could be maintained by the Jews, I will briefly quote what Kimchi has written as an explanation of Hoſ. I. 2. "Our Rabbis relate (on occaſion of the words, *and the Lord ſaid to Hoſea*), that the Holy and Ever-bleſſed ſaid to Hoſea, the Iſraelites have ſinned." He ought to have anſwered, O Lord of the world, they are thy children, the children of thy choſen, the children of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob; have mercy on them. But he not only neglected to ſpeak thus, but even ſaid the whole world is thine, exchange them for another people.

"Then the Holy and Ever-bleſſed ſaid, "What ſhall I do with this old man? I will ſay to him, take thee a harlot; and again I will ſay to him, put her away from thee. If he can do this, I will alſo ſeparate myſelf from Iſrael." Now, after ſhe had brought him forth two ſons and a daughter, the Holy and Ever-bleſſed ſaid to him, Hoſea, oughteſt thou not to learn from thy maſter Moſes? After I had ſpoken to him, he ſeparated himſelf from his wife: do thou alſo ſeparate thyſelf from thine. Hoſea anſwered, O Lord of the world, I have children by her, and cannot poſſibly put her away. Then ſaid the Holy and Ever-bleſſed, "canſt thou not do this, Hoſea, though ſhe is an harlot, and thy children are the children of an harlot? So alſo is it with me: the children of Iſrael are my children, the children of my choſen, of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and they are one of my three poſſeſſions, and yet thou haſt ſaid, exchange them for another people. As ſoon as Hoſea perceived that he had ſinned, he begged for mercy. But the Holy and Ever-bleſſed ſpoke: when thou prayeſt for mercy, pray for mercy on Iſrael. From that time he began to bleſs, and ſaid; the number of the children of Iſrael ſhall be as the ſand of the ſea.

"Theſe Jewiſh errors illuſtrate at once the very difficult ninth chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans, in which St. Paul had no other object in view, than to ſhew, that God was not obliged to beſtow happineſs here and hereafter on the unbelieving Jews; and that he could as well permit them to harden their hearts, and provoke his judgments, without violating his word, as he had formerly done in regard to Pharaoh." (Pp. 97, 98, 99.)

To this we are aware, that by thoſe, who find Calviniſm wherever

the words *predeſtination* and *election* occur, it will be objected, that as Kimchi flouriſhed in the 12th and 13th centuries, he can be no competent witneſs of the notions of the Jews in the firſt century. The objection would be good, had Kimchi given us this ſtory on his own authority; but he ſays expreſsly, that it is related by antient Rabbis, whilſt our author affirms that it is literally taken from the book פסחים chap. Heiſha. To that book we have not indeed acceſs; but we know that the writings of David Kimchi are held in ſuch eſtimation among the Jews, that without ſtudying them no one can arrive at reputation in letters and theology; and that his Grammar and Dictionary of the Hebrew tongue form the baſis of Buxtorf's *Theſaurus* and *Lexicon*. Surely ſuch a man may be acredited when he quotes ſuch ſtories as this from the writings of his own countrymen; more eſpecially as it appears from St. Paul himſelf *, that the firſt chapter of Hoſea had been underſtood of the calling of the Gentiles, and as it is hardly conceivable that a man of Kimchi's learning would falſely have attributed an interpretation of the chapter ſo extravagantly abſurd, to antient Rabbis, from an idea that it would reflect honour on his countrymen!

"After St. Paul had written his epiſtle to the Romans, he went to Jeruſalem, where he was apprehended by the Jews, and was with difficulty reſcued by the Roman guard. On this occaſion, however, he was deprived of his liberty, and after a tedious impriſonment was ſent to Rome, where he arrived in the ſpring of 61. During his confinement at Rome, which was not a very cloſe one, he wrote about the ſame time his epiſtles to the Epheſians, to the Coloſſians, to Philemon, and alſo to the Philippians."

This our author proves completely, as well as that St. Paul was twice in Rome, that this was the firſt time, and that St. Peter had not then been there.

The epiſtle to Philemon was occaſioned by the deſire of Oneſimus to return to the maſter whom he had firſt defrauded, and from whom he had afterwards fled to eſcape puniſhment. Oneſimus had been converted by the apoſtle at Rome, made ſenſible of his ſin, and was ſoon ſent back a ſorrowful penitent, with a recommendatory letter to Philemon, who appears to have been a convert of St. Paul's likewiſe. That Philemon was a man of ſome conſequence at Coloſſe is evident; but that he was a *Deacon* of the Church, as our author ſuppoſes, is very improbable. The epiſtle is, indeed, addreſſed by Paul and Timothy Φιλημονι—συνεργω ἡμων; but, we doubt, if there be in the New Teſtament a ſingle inſtance in which an apoſtle alludes to the office of a *deacon*, by calling a man his fellow-labourer. If, by συνεργω, in this place, he meant an eccleſiaſtical officer, we ſhould rather infer that Philemon was biſhop of Coloſſe, than that he was only a deacon in that church; eſpecially as in the apoſtolical conſtitutions he is expreſsly called the firſt biſhop of Coloſſe, and ſaid to have been appointed to that office by St. Paul himſelf. Michaelis indeed is pleaſed to ſay, that the aſſertion of the Fathers "is, in this caſe, of no value;

* Rom IX. verſe 25.

for

for thoſe whom they called the firſt biſhops of the Chriſtian Churches, were generally biſhops of their own creation;" but Michaelis acknowledges himſelf to be little acquainted with the writings of the Fathers, and has therefore no right to decide in this manner on their veracity.

Lardner too pays little regard to the teſtimony of the conſtitutions, not becauſe he queſtions the veracity of the Fathers in general, but becauſe the book called the Epiſtolical Conſtitutions was certainly not dictated by the apoſtles, nor written by Clement of Rome. This muſt indeed be granted; but ſtill, as the book is indiſputably very antient, and as he who compiled it certainly meant it to be received as a work of great authority, it is obvious that he would not relate as notorious matters of *fact*, what were not generally admitted to be ſuch in the age in which he wrote. But what was the original conſtitution of the Church, and who were the firſt biſhops of the moſt conſpicuous Churches, were matters of fact, at leaſt as eaſy to be aſcertained, as who was the author of any particular book in the ſacred volume. We hold the aſſertion in the conſtitutions, therefore, to be much better evidence than the conjecture of any modern critic, that Philemon was the firſt biſhop of Coloſſe; though we agree with Cotelerius, that it does not follow, from his being addreſſed as St. Paul's fellow-labourer, that he was *then* a biſhop, or indeed in any ſacred order. He was, however, a Chriſtian, and a well-informed and zealous Chriſtian; and ſuch men, it was the practice of the apoſtle to conſtitute biſhops of the infant Churches.

From the epiſtle to Philemon, Michaelis proceeds to that which the apoſtle addreſſed at the ſame time to the Chriſtian community at Coloſſe, or, as he writes it, Coloſſæ. Having aſcertained the geographical ſituation of that city, and its comparative importance among the cities of Phrygia; and having proved, to our complete ſatisfaction, though Lardner is of a different opinion, that St. Paul had never been either in Coloſſe or in Laodicea, when he wrote this epiſtle, he proceeds to inquire into the object of the epiſtle. The opinion of thoſe who think that it was written againſt the Gnoſtics, he rejects, upon unqueſtionable grounds, unleſs under the denomination of Gnoſtics be comprehended every adherent to the oriental philoſophy. He is therefore of opinion, that they were the peculiar tenets of the Eſſenes that had found their way into the church at Coloſſe; and it muſt be acknowledged, that this opinion receives a high degree of probability from the caution given to the Coloſſians againſt "worſhipping of angels, and intruding into thoſe things which they had not ſeen." The Gnoſtics, indeed, had a great reverence for angels, as a kind of ſpirits which they called Æons, as well as the Jewiſh Eſſenes; but the genuine Gnoſtic could not have laboured to "ſubject the Coloſſians to ordinances—Touch not, taſte not, handle not." In the concluſion of this chapter, our author publiſhes the epiſtle ſaid to have been written by St. Paul to the Laodiceans, and very ſucceſsfully proves it a forgery, or, as he ſays, "a mere rhapſody, collected from

St. Paul's other epiſtles, and which no critic can receive as a genuine work of the apoſtle."

Mill, and various other critics of the higheſt eminence, have contended, that the epiſtle, which has come down to us addreſſed to the Epheſians, was in fact addreſſed by the apoſtle to the Laodiceans. This opinion our author examines with great ability and candour, and concludes that the epiſtle was a circular letter, intended both for the Epheſians and Laodiceans, as well as for other Chriſtian communities in Aſia Minor. In the courſe of this inquiry, he builds much on a paſſage in the epiſtle of Ignatius to the Epheſians, which, in contradiction to what he formerly aſſerted *, he admits here to be genuine; but he allows to Marcion a degree of credit, to which Lardner has ſhewn that heretic not to be entitled. Lardner as well as Michaelis, is of opinion, that the epiſtle to the Epheſians was ſent by them to the church at Laodicea, and that it is the epiſtle which the Coloſſians were deſired to get from thence; but our author ſeems to be ſingular in ſuppoſing, that ſeveral copies of the epiſtle were ſent from Rome at the ſame time, and that one of them was by the apoſtle addreſſed, τοις ἁγιοις τοις ουσιν εν Εφεσω; and another, τοις ἁγιοις τοις ουσιν εν Λαοδικειᾳ. Such as think the queſtion of any importance will do well to compare what he has ſaid on this epiſtle, with what has been written by Lardner and Whitby on the ſame ſubject.

"In the three firſt chapters, St. Paul's principal object is to ſhew, that Jews and Gentiles partake of equal privileges and bleſſings in the kingdom of Chriſt, and that they are united in one church, or, as he expreſſes it, 'one holy temple in the Lord.' Another object which St. Paul had in view, was to ſhew, that the advantages which both the Jewiſh and Gentile converts received from the Chriſtian religion, were to be attributed to Chriſt alone, and not to the intervention of any other ſuperior Beings, by whatever names they are called, whether arch-angels, according to our language, or Æons, according to the language of the Gnoſtics. In the communities, therefore, to which this epiſtle was addreſſed, the Gnoſtic and Eſſene notions of intermediate ſpirits muſt have prevailed; for St. Paul not only alludes, in this epiſtle, much more than in the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, to the doctrines of the Gnoſtics, but even uſes the technical terms of their philoſophy, eſpecially in chap. ii. 2. vi. 1. . . . . The moral part of their epiſtle, which begins with chap. iv. 17. is, as well as the preceding part, very ſimilar to the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, and in many places almoſt exactly agrees with it. . . . In chap. V. 22, 23, he gives directions for the conduct of married perſons, and repreſents matrimony as a holy ſtate, by comparing the union of man and wife with the union of Chriſt and his church. Perhaps in this compariſon, he intended to combat indirectly the doctrine of the Eſſenes, who aſſerted that matrimony was an unholy ſtate, and unworthy of a wiſe man. (Pp. 148—151.)

What our author ſays on the epiſtle to the Philippians is not of general importance. He ſeems to prove, that it was written at Rome

* See our 18th Vol. pp. 8, 9.

in

in the beginning of the year 65*; and that the moſt dangerous ſeducers, againſt whom St. Paul deemed it neceſſary to warn the Chriſtians at Philippi, were the Phariſaical Jews, or zealots for the law of Moſes. He has occaſion to mention the biſhops and deacons of the apoſtolical churches; but of them, and their offices, he ſeems to have had no accurate knowledge.

In treating of St. Paul's ſecond epiſtle to Timothy, there are two points which our author labours to eſtabliſh; 1ſt, that Timothy was not at Epheſus, or, at leaſt, that the apoſtle did not know that he was there when that epiſtle was written; and, 2dly, that it was written at Rome, during St. Paul's *ſecond* impriſonment, and when he had before him the near proſpect of a violent death. In his endeavours to prove the former of theſe poſitions, he fails completely; but he has ſhewn the latter to be ſo extremely probable, that we do not ſuppoſe that it will again be called into queſtion. He fixes the date of the epiſtle to the latter part of the year 65, or rather to the year 66, and hazards ſome conjectures reſpecting the nature of the hereſies, particularly the hereſies of Hymenæus and Philetus, againſt which the apoſtle warns his friend.

"What they meant, in ſaying, that the reſurrection is paſt already, it is difficult exactly to determine. But it is highly probable, that they acted in the ſame manner, as many perſons in the preſent age, who endeavour to alter the doctrines of Chriſtianity. They denied the reſurrection of the body at the day of judgment, as taught by St. Paul, becauſe it was not to be reconciled with their philoſophy; but they ſtill retained the term '*reſurrection*,' that the oppoſition might not be too glaring, and aſcribed to it ſuch a meaning as they thought proper. . . . Perhaps they made it equivalent to *regeneration*; for, in this ſenſe, they might truly ſay of every good Chriſtian, that reſurrection had already taken place; or, as the doctrine of tranſmigration of ſouls was at that time not uncommon, they might have taken the word *reſurrection* in this ſenſe, and ſay [ſaid], that a reſurrection took place, as often as a child was born." (Pp. 178, 179.)

Of all the epiſtles attributed to St. Paul, not one has occaſioned ſo much controverſy, among divines and eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, as the epiſtle to the Hebrews. Is it an epiſtle? Is it quoted by St. Peter? If it be an epiſtle, to what community was it ſent? What was the ſituation of that community? At what time was it written? In what language was it written? If it was written in Hebrew, by whom was it tranſlated into Greek? What is the character of its Greek ſtyle? Who was the author of this epiſtle? Is it canonical? and what are its contents?—are ſo many queſtions which have been agitated among critics and commentators, and to every one of which our author attempts to give an anſwer.

That it is an epiſtle he has completely proved, as well as that it

* Lardner, however, urges very plauſible arguments in ſupport of his own opinion, that it was written in 62.

was ſent to the Hebrew Chriſtians of Jeruſalem and Paleſtine, a few years before the breaking out of the Jewiſh war. Whether it is particularly quoted by St. Peter, he is very doubtful; and we think, that for his doubts he has aſſigned ſufficient reaſons; but we do not think the arguments concluſive, from which he infers that it was written in Hebrew. They are ingenious, we admit, and diſplay a very uncommon knowledge of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic dialects; but our reverence for erudition hardly prevents us from ſmiling at the man who pretends to point out inſtances in which the tranſlator has miſtaken the ſenſe of an original, which the critic never ſaw, and which he acknowledges to have been loſt, for at leaſt 1600 years! We are, however, inclined to believe, that the epiſtle was originally written in what was then called Hebrew, not for the reaſons aſſigned by Michaelis, but becauſe ſuch was the opinion of ſome of the moſt eminent writers in the primitive church, and becauſe it was natural for St. Paul, if he was the author, to write to the natives of Paleſtine in his own and their mother tongue. The argument from the ſtyle of the epiſtle, which is ſaid to be ſo much purer and more elegant Greek than St. Paul was accuſtomed to write, will go for very little with thoſe who have equal opportunities with reviewers of knowing how apt the beſt critic is to be miſtaken, when he attempts to diſcover an author by his ſtyle. No two ſtyles can be more unlike to each other, than the ſtyle of Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society* and the ſtyle of his *Reflections on the French Revolution*; and ſuch a critic as our author may, two hundred years hence, *demonſtrate*, that "The Vindication of Natural Society" cannot have been written by EDMUND BURKE; or that, if the thoughts be his, they muſt have been dictated to an amanuenſis, who clothed them in his own language.

That it is impoſſible now to diſcover by whom the epiſtle (if it be a tranſlation) was tranſlated into Greek, we readily admit; but ſome of the Greek Fathers (Origen, for inſtance, and Euſebius) found a ſtriking ſimilarity between the Greek of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, and that of Clement of Rome's epiſtle to the Corinthians; and he would be a bold profeſſor, whether in a German or in a Britiſh univerſity, who, in the preſent age, ſhould conſider himſelf a better judge of ſuch Greek than Origen and Euſebius! That Clement's epiſtle to the Corinthians falls ſhort of the epiſtle to the Hebrews in cloſeneſs of reaſoning, ſublimity of thought, and animation, will be readily granted; but let it be remembered, that, whoever was the tranſlator, the reaſoning, ſublimity, and of courſe animation, are excluſively the author's.

On the queſtion, whether St. Paul was or was not the author of the epiſtle, Michaelis repreſents the Fathers of the church as pretty equally divided in opinion; but whoever ſhall take the trouble to look into Lardner's account of this epiſtle, will perceive that the repreſentation is very unfair, and that at leaſt three to one of the luminaries of the ancient church were of opinion, that the apoſtle was the author.

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That the epiſtle contains many ſentiments, and even many phraſes, which might have naturally flowed from the pen of St. Paul, our author admits; but it is not *impoſſible*, he ſays, that theſe might have flowed from ſome other pen! The mention of Timothy's being ſet at liberty, and the propoſal to viſit with him the community to which the epiſtle was addreſſed, is admitted as more likely to have been made by St. Paul than by any other perſon whatever; but ſtill they *might* have been made by another perſon, becauſe Timothy may have had many friends!

From ſuch perverſe reaſonings as theſe, our author, though he declines giving a deciſive anſwer, concludes the probability to be, that St. Paul was *not* the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews! The reader who wiſhes to ſee the queſtion fairly ſtated and fairly argued, will do well to peruſe the 14th ſection of the 12th chapter of Lardner's ſupplement, together with the works which are there quoted. In the mean time, if, without giving himſelf that trouble, he conſider who but St. Paul *could* have been the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, it is probable that he will not long have any doubts about the matter. That the epiſtle diſplays an immenſe fund of Jewiſh learning—ſuch, indeed, as none of the apoſtles but St. Paul, and perhaps Barnabas, could be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs—is not only admitted, but contended for by Michaelis: that its author likewiſe underſtood thoroughly the Chriſtian ſcheme, muſt be evident to every man who has read the epiſtle with attention, and has himſelf any tolerable notions of that ſcheme; and that Barnabas, who is repreſented by St. Luke as not ſo fluent a ſpeaker as St. Paul, was the author of an epiſtle more eloquent than St. Paul is thought to have been capable of writing, as it is not likely, is given up by our author; whilſt he acknowledges that St. Paul, in ſome of his ſpeeches, eſpecially at Athens, diſplays that eloquence and rotundity of periods which characterize the epiſtle in queſtion. But if all this be true, may we not aſk, who but St. Paul was in the year 66, or in any year before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, at once ſo thoroughly acquainted with the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religions, and, occaſionally at leaſt, ſo eloquent, as the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews? In the ſection entitled, *Of the Contents of the Epiſtle*, Michaelis obſerves, that—

"In the firſt place, the author endeavours to anſwer objections, which the Jews had made to the Chriſtian religion, and which had occaſioned the Jewiſh proſelytes to waver in the faith. He then points out the impending abolition of the Levitical law, and its ineffiacy even to the Jews; which ſubject is treated in a more clear and comprehenſive manner, than in any other book of the New Teſtament. The chief arguments are taken from Pſalm CX. which relates to the prieſt after the order of Melchiſedek, and from the prophecy of Jeremiah relative to a new covenant. Theſe arguments are produced in the ſeventh and eighth chapters; but the ſubject is ſtill continued in the following chapters." (P. 268.)

Having made ſome obſervations which are neither new nor important, on the ſeven Catholic epiſtles in general, our author proceeds to con-

conſider them one by one, not in the order in which they are placed in our bibles, but in the order of time in which he thinks it probable that they were written. The chapter employed on the epiſtle of St. James is divided into eight ſections, in the firſt of which he enumerates the various opinions which have been held relative to *the James*, who was called the brother of Jeſus. Theſe are, 1ſt, That he was the ſon of Joſeph by a former wife; 2d, that he was the ſon of Joſeph, by Mary, the mother of Jeſus; 3d, that he was the ſon of Joſeph, by the widow of a brother, who had died without children, and to whom therefore Joſeph, by the law of Moſes was obliged to raiſe iſſue; and, 4thly, that James, Joſes, Simon, and Judas were brothers of Chriſt, not in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word *brother*, but in a more lax ſenſe, namely, in that of couſin, or relation in general, agreeably to the uſage of this word in the Hebrew language.

The ſecond of theſe opinions is worthy of HERDER, the only modern of name by whom it ſeems to have been held. That James and Joſes, and Simon and Judas, were not the ſons of Mary, the mother of Jeſus, is put beyond the reach of rational controverſy, by our Saviour's recommending his mother to the protection of St. John, while he himſelf was hanging on the croſs. Had Mary had ſons of ſufficient worth to be ranked, ſome of them among the apoſtles, it is not conceivable, that the bleſſed Jeſus would have deviated ſo far from the law of nature, as to have recommended her to any other earthly protector; or that St. John, though he might have reſpected her with filial reverence, would have taken her into his own houſe, while any of her ſons, James, Joſes, Simon, or Judas, had a houſe in which ſhe could have been accommodated.

To the firſt of the four opinions enumerated, as it is the moſt ancient, our author is inclined to give his aſſent; but he admits, that the laſt, which ſeems to have been firſt formed by Jerome, and which, in modern times, has been very generally received, is likewiſe not improbable. We confeſs, that to us the third appears the moſt probable of the whole, as it removes almoſt every difficulty with which the other opinions are clogged, and ſeems to be the very ſame with the firſt, as that opinion was held by the ancients. It is admitted by our author, as well as by Lardner, that *Alphæus* and *Cleophas* are the ſame name, differently written; but, according to Epiphanius, Chryſoſtom, and Theophylact, Joſeph had a brother named Cleophas, to whom, as he died without iſſue, Joſeph raiſed up ſeed; and James, being the firſt-born, was, according to the law *, called the ſon of *Cleophas*, or, in Greek, *Alphæus*.

"But this opinion," ſays Michaelis, "I think extremely improbable; for the law which obliged the Jews to take the widows of their brothers, who had died without children, affected thoſe only who were ſingle, and was not extended to thoſe who were already married. Beſides, as ſoon as

* Deut. xxv. 5, 6.

one

one heir was born of the brother's widow, all was done which the law required; but, according to this opinion, Joſeph had four ſons, and ſeveral daughters, by his brother's widow, and that too at a time *when his own wife was alive*, by whom, according to the ſame opinion, he had no children." (Pp. 274, 275.)

This is another inſtance in which our author has ſuffered his underſtanding to be blinded by the duſt of a favourite hypotheſis. It is not ſaid by Epiphanius, Chryſoſtom, or Theophylact, nor, ſuppoſing their opinion well founded, is there in ſcripture any thing from which it can be inferred, that Joſeph was married to the mother of Jeſus when he raiſed up ſeed to his deceaſed brother, Alphæus. It is, indeed, true, that when a man went in unto his brother's widow, and *took her to him to wife*, the *firſt-born only* was conſidered as the ſon of the deceaſed; but it does not appear from the injunction of Moſes, that, as ſoon as the woman had born a ſon, ſhe was to be repudiated by her ſecond huſband; for the man is expreſsly commanded to *take her to wife*, and not as a *temporary concubine*; whilſt, from the reaſon aſſigned for the law, it appears, as plain as any thing can do, that it was ſuppoſed he might have more than *one* child by her, and that *they* were *not* to ſucceed in the name of his deceaſed brother. "And it ſhall be," ſays Moſes, "that the *firſt-born*, which ſhe beareth, ſhall ſucceed in the *name* of his brother who is dead, that *his name be not put out of Iſrael.*" Then follow inſtructions reſpecting what was to be done, if the man ſhould *not like* to take his brother's wife; but it is hardly conceivable, that, to avoid ſuch a *temporary* connection as our author's reaſoning ſuppoſes, any man would have ſubmitted to have a woman *ſpit in his face* before the elders of the city, and to be afterwards known by a *nick-name* in Iſrael. Accordingly, of the ſeven brethren, who are ſaid to have had ſucceſſively the ſame woman to wife, not one of them gave place to his younger brother till he died, which ſurely would not have been the caſe, had the raiſing up of ſeed to the eldeſt been the *only* purpoſe of ſuch fruitleſs marriages. On this ſuppoſition, indeed, the Saducees could not have aſked our bleſſed Lord "whoſe wife, of the ſeven, ſhe ſhould be at the reſurrection;" for this ſuppoſition implies, that ſhe had *never been the wife* of any but the eldeſt.

That James was the ſon of Alphæus, raiſed up by his brother Joſeph, is an opinion which ſeems to us to receive no ſmall ſupport from the circumſtance that the brethren of James, Joſes, and Simon, and Judas, are never called the ſons of Alphæus in the New Teſtament. "James, the ſon of Alphæus, and Simon called Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James," are frequently mentioned; whilſt, on one occaſion, our Lord's countrymen, aſtoniſhed at his wiſdom and his mighty works, ſaid, "Is not this the carpenter's ſon? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James and Joſes, and Simon and Judas?" whence it appears in the higheſt degree probable, that the people of Nazareth knew, that though Jeſus and James, and Simon

mon and Judas, were brethren, none of them was the ſon of Mary but Jeſus, nor any of them conſidered as the ſon of Alphæus but James.

It is objected, however, to the opinion which we are inclined to adopt, that, though the mother of James the leſs, as he is ſometimes called, had certainly been the wife of Cleophas †, ſhe was likewiſe the ſiſter of Mary the mother of Jeſus, and that it is not probable, that ſo juſt a man as Joſeph would have repudiated a woman who had born to him many children, and then married her ſiſter! This objection, we admit, would be very formidable, were it certain that Mary, the wife of Cleophas or Clopas, was literally the *ſiſter* of Mary, the mother of Chriſt; but this is neither certain nor probable.

"It is very unuſual," as our author obſerves, "for two ſiſters to have the ſame name, except where, in addition to the name, which they have in common, they have each of them another name; but, in this caſe, it is uſual to denote them, not by their common, but by their particular names. I think it, therefore, probable, that Mary, the wife of Clopas, was not properly the ſiſter of Mary, the wife of Joſeph, but only her couſin or relation." (P. 276.)

If this be admitted, every objection of the ſmalleſt weight ſeems to be removed from the opinion, that James was the ſon of Joſeph by the widow of his brother Cleophas or Clopas; and at all events it is evident, from St. Matth. xvii. 56, and St. John, xix. 25, compared with the texts in which James is called the ſon of *Alphæus*, that *Clopas* and *Alphæus* were the ſame name. But whether James the Leſs was the ſon of Joſeph, by his brother's widow, or not; if he was related to Jeſus in ſuch a way that he could, according to the Jewiſh idiom, be called his brother, whilſt he was known as the ſon of Clopas or Cleophas, the favourite hypotheſis of our author will be completely demoliſhed.

That hypotheſis is, that James, called our Lord's brother, was not an apoſtle, becauſe there were only two apoſtles of that name—James, the ſon of Zebedee, and James, the ſon of Alphæus; and that, if the epiſtle under the name of James were not written by an apoſtle, it is not of canonical authority, becauſe the apoſtles alone received the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and of courſe wrote by inſpiration!

That the apoſtles *alone* received the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, is an opinion which we have already ſhewn to be without even the ſhadow of foundation ‡. The epiſtle of St. James would, therefore, in our opinion, be of indiſputable authority, whether the author was, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, an apoſtle or not; provided it be allowed (and it is here not merely allowed, but proved), that he was James

† John, xix. 25. Matth. xxvii. 5, 6. and Mark xv. 40.
‡ See our 18th Vol. p. 127.

the

the Lord's brother, who preſided in the council of apoſtles and elders, mentioned in the fifteenth chapter of the *Acts of the Apoſtles.* But, ſince the authority of this epiſtle was queſtioned by many of the ancients, only becauſe they doubted whether our Lord's brother, whom they conſidered as its author, was the ſon of Alphæus, and an apoſtle, we have been at ſome pains (whether ſucceſsfully or not) to eſtabliſh both theſe poſitions. To prove, however, that James, the brother of our Lord, whether he was the ſon of Joſeph or not, could not be an apoſtle, our author urges one argument, which, though we believe it to be peculiarly his own, we muſt not paſs without notice.

"St. John * and St. Mark † have ſpoken in general terms of brethren of Chriſt, ſome of whom did not believe on him, at leaſt during his life-time. St. Matthew ‡ has mentioned four by name, James, Joſes, Simon, and Judas; and he has likewiſe ſpoken of ſiſters of Jeſus. . . . . Now the words of St. Matthew, where he ſpeaks of theſe four perſons, are capable of a two-fold interpretation; and the deciſion of our preſent queſtion will, in ſome meaſure, depend upon that which we adopt. Namely, St. Matthew's words may be rendered either, '*Are not his brethren called James, Joſes, Simon, and Judas; and are not his ſiſters with us?*'—or, '*Are not his brothers, James, Joſes, Simon, and Judas, and all his ſiſters with us?* . . . If we adopt the latter interpretation, it follows, that theſe four brethren of Jeſus *were then at Nazareth*: but if they were at Nazareth, they could not have been in the number of thoſe who attended Chriſt on his journies. Conſequently, not one of them could have been an apoſtle; and they come under the deſcription which St. John has given of Chriſt's brethren, in whoſe company Chriſt refuſed to go to Jeruſalem." (Pp. 271, 272.)

We readily grant that, by a difference of printing, the Greek words of St. Matthew will admit of either of the two interpretations propoſed by our author; but we reject the inference which he draws from the latter. If becauſe the four brothers were at Nazareth, when the words recorded by St. Matthew were ſpoken, it follow that they were not accuſtomed to attend Chriſt on his journies, it will likewiſe follow that Chriſt himſelf was not accuſtomed to make any journies; for he too was *then* at Nazareth. The truth, however, is, that the words recorded by St. Matthew have no relation whatever to Chriſt's journies, or to his or his brethren's reſidence at the time when they were ſpoken, but to the manner in which it was believed that the Meſſiah was firſt to make his appearance in the world. We learn from St. John,§ that a notion prevailed among the Jews, that "when Chriſt cometh, no man knoweth whence he is;" and as that notion was expreſſed on one occaſion, when the people in Jeruſalem, though they were aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of our Lord's doctrine, refuſed to believe him, becauſe they knew whence he was, ſo nothing can be inferred from the words recorded by St. Matthew, but that the ſame

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* Ch. viii. 3—8. † Ch. iii. 31—35. ‡ Ch. xiii. 55.
§ Ch. vii. 27.

notions

notions prevailed among the inhabitants of Nazareth, when aſtoniſhed at his miracles, and *offended* at him, they ſaid, "Is not this the carpenter's ſon? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joſes, and Simon, and Judas? and his ſiſters, are not they all with us? whence then hath this man all theſe things?"

We conclude, therefore, that James the Lord's brother, and, as Lardner admits, the firſt biſhop of Jeruſalem, was certainly an apoſtle in the moſt proper ſenſe of the word; and that the epiſtle to the twelve tribes who were ſcattered abroad, whether written by him, or, as our author ſeems half inclined to believe, by James the ſon of Zebedee, is, on every hypotheſis reſpecting inſpiration, of canonical authority. Our author contends, but we think not ſucceſsfully, that the object of that epiſtle has been very generally miſunderſtood; whilſt he ſhews clearly that there is nothing in St. James's doctrine of juſtification by works inconſiſtent with St. Paul's doctrine of juſtification by faith. On this important ſubject, however, the ſtudent of theology will find Biſhop Bull! *Harmonia apoſtolica* with its ſeveral defences, or Mr. Pearſon's *Remarks on the Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith*,* a much ſafer guide than the reaſonings of Michaelis, who ſuffers himſelf to be ſometimes led aſtray by a vain deſire of ſaying ſomething which has not been ſaid before him.

This deſire however does not appear in his obſervations on the two Catholic epiſtles of St. Peter, which contain little that is new, and nothing that is exceptionable. The perſons to whom theſe epiſtles were addreſſed he conſiders as Gentile Chriſtians, who before they embraced the goſpel, had been Jewiſh proſelytes of the gate. Perhaps they were Chriſtians of both Jewiſh and Gentile origin, though the number of the latter greatly exceeded that of the former. With Cave, and various other men of eminent learning, he is decidedly of opinion, that the firſt epiſtle was written, not from Rome, but either from Babylon or the Euphrates, or from Seleucia, ſometimes called New Babylon, on the Tigris. That the antient Babylon, though ruinous, was even then a populous city, abounding with Jews, he has proved with evidence which it ſeems impoſſible to reſiſt; that St. Peter might have been there during the many years in which we have no certain accounts of him, is incontrovertible; and that no man would in a ſober letter, give to the place from which it is dated, a *myſtical name*, is ſo very probable in itſelf, as to amount, in our opinion, to a complete proof of the truth of our author's opinion; whilſt the arguments which Lardner had oppoſed to that opinion as held by Cave are ſhewn to be of no force.

Whence the ſecond epiſtle was ſent he pretends not to ſay with confidence, though he admits the apoſtle to have been in Rome, and to have ſuffered martyrdom there. The authenticity of that epiſtle he proves in a very ſatisfactory manner; though the reader will do well

* Reviewed in our 18th Vol. p. 255.

to

to conſult Lardner and Sherlock* for an account of the peculiarity of ſtyle in the ſecond chapter, on which, however, Michaelis has likewiſe ſome good remarks.

The object of the apoſtle in the firſt epiſtle was to exhort his readers—the Chriſtian converts in Aſia Minor—to patience under misfortunes; to avoid whatever might give juſt offence to the magiſtrates and their fellow-citizens; and to brotherly love. The purport of the ſecond epiſtle is chiefly polemical. From the laſt chapter it appears that St. Peter wrote againſt certain perſons, who denied the doctrine of a general judgment and diſſolution of the world; whilſt in other places he condemns the impure morality of ſome of the Gnoſtics, as well as of the Nicolaitans, who, by a very ingenious argument, our author endeavours to prove, were thoſe deſcribed as following the way of Balaam.

(To be concluded in a future Number.)

The Miniature, a Periodical paper. By Solomon Grildrig, *of the College of Eton. Inſcribed, by permiſſion, to the Rev. Dr. Goodall.* 8vo. Pp. 368. 7s. 6d. Murray. 1805.

ANY work, avowedly proceeding from a ſeminary ſo greatly, and, which is more, ſo juſtly, celebrated as that of Eton, raiſes expectation very high; notwithſtanding the kind of drawback naturally enough ſuggeſted by the conſideration that it is the production of *ſcholars* who undertake to *teach* before they have ceaſed to *learn.* The contents of the volume before us are certainly not calculated to diſappoint the expectation ſo raiſed. With moſt of the ſubjects here diſcuſſed the writers diſplay a knowledge evidently the reſult of much previous ſtudy and cloſe application: whatever their years may be, they have manifeſted a maturity of judgment which is highly creditable to them, and honourable to their preceptors. We think, however, that they have ſucceeded better in grave and ſerious compoſition, than in light ſatire and pointed ridicule. Though there are ſome papers of the laſt deſcription that have much merit. The obſervations in the ſecond number on the literary locuſts of the day, are not more ſarcaſtic, than juſt. But why will the ſevere cenſor of faſhionable follies adopt any part of the ſtupid jargon of the votaries of faſhion? Why ſubſtitute the nonſenſical term *ſmall-clothes*, the offſpring of groſs ideas and of a weak head, for the plain, ſimple term, *breeches?*—And what, in the name of common ſenſe, are we to underſtand by the *nonſenſical emotions of the breaſt?* How, too, let us aſk, can pericranium be uſed to ſignify divers ſculls? Should a ſecond edition of *the Miniature* be called for, which we think highly

* See the firſt diſſertation publiſhed at the end of his *Uſe and Intent of Prophecy*, &c.

probable,

probable, we truſt theſe inaccuracies and many others which might be pointed out, will be corrected. As to the kingdom of romance, which is here very fairly deſcribed, we think, it might at the preſent epoch, be truly ſaid that the *reign of terror* prevails in it; for certain it is, that the greater part of our modern novels and romances, whether written in poetical proſe or in proſaic poetry, are well adapted to frighten not only the children in the nurſery, but the very nurſes themſelves.

The *fourth* number exhibits a brief view of the ſtate of antient kingdoms, their riſe, progreſs, decline, and fall; for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a poſition (which, however, muſt ſtill remain problematical) that there is a certain pitch of grandeur beyond which no nation can riſe; and any attempt to exceed which muſt be productive of ruin. We muſt here notice a grammatical error which we confeſs we were aſtoniſhed to find in the compoſition of an Etonian "that height of power which nature *or* the common good of the Univerſe *have* (has) ſanctioned," &c. we ſhould certainly have conſidered this as an error of the *preſs*, but, on referring to the errata, we find another error of the preſs *in the ſame page*, corrected, while this is left wholly unnoticed.

The *fifth* number is devoted to a ſerious ſubject, which is ably diſcuſſed, and we muſt obſerve, that moſt of the papers, with the ſignature E. have very conſiderable merit. In the *ſeventh* number appears an excellent letter from one who having been a ſpoiled child (of which, Heaven knows! it is the fate of every man to ſee too many) and accuſtomed to hear all his pert and ſtupid obſervations loudly praiſed by *papa and mama*, became infected with the mania of talking and of contradicting, which was carried to ſuch a pitch, that he ſays—"frequently have I been ſurprized to find myſelf cavilling at, refuting, and diſproving by all the rules of logic and common ſenſe, an arrant truiſm.

The *Eighth* number we ſhall extract, as a fair ſpecimen of the work, and as it contains ſome very juſt and pertinent remarks on the depraved taſte of too many of our modern bards.

"It is a trite but true obſervation, that the frivolous whims and fanciful dictates of faſhion have more effect upon the mind, and force their commands with more irreſiſtible ſway, than all the precepts and admonitions of prudence or wiſdom. It might, however, ſeem probable that faſhion would have contented herſelf with arranging the taſty fabric of a lady's headdreſs, or the cut of a beau's coat; with deciding the exact hour when it ſhould be genteel for the gay world to feel hungry; with regulating the length of a ſhoe ſtring, or any other important article of a ſimilar nature. But the goddeſs wiſhing to exert her prerogatives and power to the utmoſt, has extended her influence over the regions of literature and taſte; ſhe has invaded the ſacred retreats of Helicon themſelves, and by a touch of her wand, the muſes appear as readily inclined to follow her commands, as any other young ladies within the realms of St. James's, while Apollo himſelf ſubmits his lyre to be new ſtrung at her option. In ſhort poetry is, and has long been, as entirely ſubject to the laws of faſhion as a birth-day ſuit, or a ball dreſs, and promiſes, under its preſent rules and reſtrictions, ſoon to become

come equally valuable. From the epic to the elegy, the pindaric ode to the ſonnet, her power is felt, her ſupremacy acknowledged. It is not, however, of late years only that faſhion has been thus omnipotent; were we to take a chronological inſpection of poetry in general, to the moſt remote ages, we ſhould, I believe, perceive her equally domineering. The wild Norwegian ballads, and romantic ſtrains of the Erſe and Norſe legends are all marked with the ſame character.

"Simplicity was the univerſal aim of the antient Engliſh minſtrels, a taſte which has been ill ſupplanted by the whims of a later date. At one period the merit of poetry conſiſted not in the novelty of ideas or elegancy of expreſſion, but in the form or model which is diſplayed. I recollect having ſeen a copy of verſes; "To a hair of my miſtreſs's eye-laſh," whoſe only merit conſiſted in the lines being ſo arranged or rather diſarranged, that the whole poem might be written in the form of a heart. A pair of wings was the favourite ſhape for a ſonnet to appear in; and a triangle the eſtabliſhed form of a ſacred hymn. At another moment the whim of men led them to exclude particular letters from their poems, and one ſoaring beyond the reſt; actually wrote, or intended to write, an Epic Poem in five books, on purpoſe to exclude every vowel by turns. The ſublime ode was another reſource of faſhion to vary the prevaling follies of the day. High and low, rich and poor were then univerſally excited to give vent to their extravagant fancies in the wildeſt meaſures and looſeſt numbers: ſenſe *or* beauty were [was] equally ſacrificed to irregularity, and all believed that the uſe of Pindar's metre would inſpire them with Pindar's ſublimity and conception.

"Every ſubject was deemed equally worthy of theſe high flights of poetry. Odes on the "*use and abuse of cabbage-stalks in the cure of a quinzy*," or, on '*the efficacy of lime in the composition of mortar*,' were the common productions of the preſs. Ere long this taſte fell into diſrepute, and was ſucceeded by another if poſſible more ſurpriſing. The whole nation ſeems to have been ſuddenly inſpired with a ſpecies of religious mania, and it appears to have been then conſidered actually neceſſary for the compoſition of a meritorious poem, on whatſoever ſubject it might be written, that the performance ſhould be ſeaſoned with a ſpice of the ſcriptures, or a few ſacred ſimilies, by way of keeping holy ideas continually preſent to the minds [mind] of the reader. Whether this reſort proved ſerviceable to the cauſe of religion, it is not for me to determine; but poetry was certainly not improved by a mixture of texts dragged by main force into every ſort of compoſition, which when thus preſſed into ſervice, lay prominent from the body of the poem, like ſo many lumps of extraneous matter. The compariſon of a blight deſtroying ſuddenly an unfortunate field of barley, to the exterminating angel, who in one night ſlew all Senacherib's powers, does not excite any very paſtoral or reverential ideas; and this method of writing was the more detrimental as it introduced a moſt marvellous jumble of chriſtian and mythological tenets. In one line the reader is induced to ſuppoſe himſelf in Paradiſe, while in the next the ſudden appearance of Venus and her Graces, puts the pious ſuppoſition totally to the rout; nor does the pagan Mercury, who was an acknowledged protector of thieves and vagabonds, when he is addreſſed at the beginning of a ſonnet, perfectly aſſociate with the reverence due to the Chriſtian Jehovah, who is brought to be preſent at the concluſion. Poetry of a more modern date aſſumed a form totally different from any of the preceding vagaries, and indeed, this form is ſo peculiar that

I ſhall be induced to dilate rather more extenſively upon the topic. The principal characteriſtics of this ſpecies ſeem to be as follows:

" Imprimis, a flowery ſtring of choice epithets, whether meaning or unmeaning it was not of much conſequence, provided there were plenty of them tacked to each ſubſtantive, as

' Wiſtful turns the fearful eye.'

" In the ſecond place, a ſtrict reſpect was to be paid to alliteration, ſo that to be perfect it was neceſſary that out of ten words eight ſhould begin with the ſame letter; I have ſelected a more moderate example;

——————The huntreſs Queen
Showers her ſhafts of ſilver o'er the ſcene.

" N. B. Who would ſuppoſe that by this happy conbination of ſporting ideas, the poet had merely meant to ſay, ' the Moon ſhines!!!' Again it was proper that a certain tinkling ſhould accompany every line, and that every couplet ſhould glide along in the moſt melliſluous courſe, undiſturbed by the interruption of any harſh obtruding word, however the ſenſe of the paſſage might require one, as;

' While gently o'er the undulating wave,
Maria drops the goſſamery tear.'

" No unmarried ſubſtantive could be admitted, and here no deviations from the general rule of alliteration might by any chance be allowed; we find ' *ſensate ſhrubs*,' ' *ſimpering ſugar*' ' *mingling murders*,' ' *ſilent ſabbaths*;' and even to preſerve this canon in full force, we find the elements ſuddenly endued with the power of reading, and a taſte for literature; ſince among innumerable inſtances I have ſeen ' *lettered lightnings*' employed in order to preſerve ſound, by excluding ſenſe.

" No adjective is ſo deſirable as one which will exactly echo back the ſenſe of the ſubſtantive to which it is coupled; as *joys, joyful; bleſſings, bliſful*; *ſenſibilities, ſenſitive*; *viſions, viſionary*; &c. &c. But if it was found actually neceſſary to introduce a word of common uſe into theſe uncommon poems, it was always metamorphoſed, and tranſmogrified by the addition or eliſion of a ſyllable or letter, ſo that hardly any trace of the plebeian baſeneſs of its origin might eaſily be diſcovered; one favourite method was to add a ' y' at the end of the word; as for ' *pale*,' ' *ſtill*,' read *paly, ſtilly*. It is always ' *athwart the ſight*' among this race of poets, never athwart. With them too we never find *a blood-ſtained dagger*, but always ' *a dagger diſtained with gore*.' The laſt thing to be conſidered was the ſubject of the Poem, and this was always ſome intereſting event, among the lower order of animals, whereby the delicate ſenſibilities might be more tenderly affected; ſuch as the deceaſe of a flea, the miſcarriage of a graſſhopper; or the wedding of a couple of gnats.

" The author always opened the poem by a kind of prologue, beſpeaking himſelf in a melancholy tone of mind, either ſcattering his tears to the winds or waves, if preferable; or ſighing, or dying; in ſhort melancholy he muſt be, and in general to heighten the effect, he ought to be wandering by moon-light. What commendation was not due to a poem written under theſe regulations, eſpecially when uſhered into the world with ſome elegant ſignature (which by the bye, was half the buſineſs) as that of *Anna Matilda, Laura Maria, Cæſario*, or Hyppolito! Theſe captivating appellatives,

poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed ſuch a ſeducing ſweetneſs, that half England was inflamed with the ardour of appearing under ſimilar titles. I had forgot to mention, that cruelty to animals was held in ſuch utter abhorrence, by this feeling choir, that they appear even to have thought the leaſt injury done to any bird, beaſt, or fiſh, infinitely more heinous than of any act of violence committed on a fellow creature. We have an inſtance of a man, who having killed a bird, thought proper to run almoſt mad upon the occaſion; yet, perhaps, he would have ſupported the idea of having been inſtrumental towards the death of man, with chriſtian fortitude. Every ſtanza of the poem which yells out ſuch ſyllables of dolor on this mournful occaſion, concludes with the dreadful repetition of the crime, '*O', I have killed an albatross*' without any invidious intention. I would compare this melancholy line, with the memorable one. '*Zounds, Sir, you have cut off the alderman's thumb.*'

"Surely the latter is more calculated to excite ſenſibility; the poor albatroſs found in death a period to its woes, but the wretched alderman remained a living object of compaſſion. Then if we recollect that the thumb might have been cut off at the moment, when the alderman was ſtretching out his hand to reach ſome calipaſh and calipee—his hand maimed! his wiſhes fruſtrated! Surely every tender feeling is awakened by the too mournful idea!

"This ſpecies of poetry was at length rejected, principally owing to the inſupportable ſatire of the Baviad, though we may ſtill obſerve a *Hafiz*, or a *Helen*, now and then lingering in the daily papers. A method of compoſition has ſucceeded, and ſtill in a great meaſure prevails, equally wonderful, though entirely diſſimilar, which has obtained for theſe days the title of the 'Hobgoblin and beſpectred age.' In metre theſe poems imitate that of our ancient ballads, but differ from them totally in ſtyle. An aſſemblage of horrors, oceans of blood, and a ſeries of murders appear in the ſhort ſpace of a few lines, hardly to be paralleled in a whole epic of former days; ſpectres and apparitions no longer ſingle, but ariſing in companies, not in the regular dreſs, or even the accuſtomed forms, but in a motley crew of unheard of monſters; ghoſts with heads and without heads, and heads without ghoſts, aſtoniſh and terrify every reader. I have ſeen a poem of this nature, in which the author, either to heighten the cataſtrophe, or to ſhew off his knowledge in anatomy, runs through the whole catalogue of bones, nerves and ſinews, with the moſt barbarous exactitude; breaking ſome, cracking others, till the wretched hero and ſufferer expire in the moſt lingering torments, and are ſome dozen of ſtanzas undergoing the operation of being murdered. In ſhort, no horror or aſſaſſination has been left unſung; and more blood has been ſpilt in the courſe of a ſingle volume by theſe ſanguinary poets, than flows from all the ſlaughter-houſes of *Clare-Market*, during the courſe of a whole year.

"Then a moſt glorious contempt for time and place, and an excluſion of every thing natural or probable are conſidered as neceſſary appendages. One line preſents us with a newly built caſtle, flouriſhing in the fourteenth century; in the next we are rambling among the ruined arches, and moonſilvered towers of the ſame fabric, in one thouſand eight hundred, which every one muſt allow to be a good jump, for even Pegaſus himſelf. We are now ſhivering in Norway, now broiling in Paleſtine, almoſt in the ſame moment.

"I had intended to conſider dramatic compoſition, and deſcant upon this other branch of poetry, but want of room prevents me from making any,

but a few paſſing obſervations. Tragedy would not have detained me long, as Melpomene ſeems to have gone very quietly to ſleep; and indeed, I believe the real Thalia, has been ſpirited away to doze for a while in fairy-land, and a falſe one ſubſtituted in her place; for the ſame muſe which inſpired a Shakeſpeare, or a Congreve, would hardly acknowledge any of our modern productions. The wit and humour of former days has [have] been ſupplanted by ſome continual repetition of a cant ſaying, introduced throughout the whole play, without even a with your leave, or a by your leave; ſuch as '*That's your ſort.*' '*Puſh on, keep moving.*' '*A propos.*' '*Thank you, good Sir, I owe you one,*' and various other expreſſions equally facetious, which nevertheleſs, contrive to draw thunders of applauſe, and burſts of laughter from the good-natured audience. One would conceive that many of our popular comedies had been written by inn-keepers, and venders of ſpirits; or, at leaſt, that the authors were in league with theſe gentlemen, as there is ever introduced ſome drunken man, of ſo amiable a character, and ſuch fair, though rough honeſty, that every one even admires the vice in the perſon, and the delighted gods deſcend from their *one ſhilling Olympus*, with full determination immediately to get equally drunk, and a full expectation of becoming equally amiable. I ſhall defer any further inveſtigation of this ſpecies of compoſition till another opportunity, and conclude my letter by preſenting to my readers the humble addreſs which I have juſt received from one *Peter Poeticus*, who engages in three leſſons to render any ſcholar of even the loweſt capacity, a perfect adept in the art of faſhionable verſification.

"This gentleman begs leave to inform his friends, and the public in general, that he poſſeſſes the true Parnaſſian pick-axe, for opening the poetical vein.

"He has a moſt complete aſſortment of poetical rhymes and modiſh alliterations, together with a choice collection of ſignatures, either paſtoral or romantic; epithets by the buſhel, and ſimilies by the gallon, together with every trope and metaphor in vogue. Ghoſts ſingle, or in companies, in the moſt eſteemed dreſſes, and genteel forms. Grinning goblins, and ſhrieking ſpectres, of the moſt faſhionable and prepoſſeſſing appearance. N. B. A higher price is expected if the drapery is dabbled in blood He ſells daggers, graves, torches, and cloiſters by wholeſale; but moonlight and bats only by retail to a few of his beſt cuſtomers. Blood in any quantity. He has a ſuperior aſſortment of plays, upon the true German model, merely deficient in the plot; and ſonnets as perfect as harmony and nonſenſe can make them. In ſhort, a moſt well choſen collection of every material neceſſary towards the perfect eſtabliſhment of a genteel poet for the year 1804." X. Y.

There are ſome very judicious obſervations, indeed, in the *twelfth* number, on national and local prejudices, and on their effects; and the following number, which is devoted to a conſideration of the different ſpecies of ambition, cloſes with the following reflections on a modern accompliſhment, which, by ſome readers will be regarded as fooliſh, but by others as wiſe.

"There is yet another ſpecies of ambition, ſtill more paultry and unaccountable than the former, which has already corrupted, diſgraced, and levelled with the loweſt dregs of mankind, many of our young nobility and gentlemen, and which loudly demands reprehenſion at the preſent day. I allude

I allude to the cuſtom prevalent among many young men, of family and fortune, ſcarcely meriting the name of gentlemen, who think it *knowing* to preſide at every boxing-match, and cock-fight, that takes place within forty miles of the metropolis, and to be the princip*le* [principal] inciters and regulators of every battle in the kingdom. If the public prints tell us in one paragraph, that a moſt dexterous battle has been fought, between Burke and Belcher, or any two pugiliſtic heroes of equal celebrity, we are ſure to be informed in the next, that the amiable Lord K****, or [and] the daſhing Sir D. T*******, were preſent, and expreſſed their admiration of the combatants by reiterated ſhouts of applauſe. In a ſhort time I expect to hear of their aſcending the ſtage themſelves, and ſhewing off their proweſs and activity at the expence of character and reputation, for I underſtand that ſeveral of them have already been initiated in the noble and manly art of boxing, no doubt that they may hereafter be enabled to gain eternal laurels in the Campus Martius of pugiliſm. I ſhall now leave them to the enjoyment of their own glory and importance; and perhaps, they may one day regret the folly of having ſacrificed the love and eſteem of ſenſible and worthy men, for the vile and diſgraceful applauſe of deſigning adulation, and unprincipled villainy."

The *fourteenth* is one of the beſt-written numbers in the volume, on the moſt ſerious of all ſubjects death and futurity; the reflections on which do the greateſt honour both to the head and the heart of the author. The *ſixteenth* contains many judicious critical animadverſions on our modern dramatiſts. From this number, we would fain make ſome copious extracts; but our limits forbid it. On the introduction of children on the ſtage, the writer remarks:—

"The conſtant and perpetual appearance of children in almoſt every ſcene, who at the early age of three years, are enabled to argue, decide, provoke laughter, or draw forth tears at pleaſure. Without them no tragedy is orthodox, and with them none can fail of ſucceſs. Indeed, the introduction of children as principal actors is ſo generally approved, that we may ſoon expect a moſt intereſting tragedy in a nurſery, with notable diſcourſes by infants in arms; and upon recollection, I believe that a drama upon the memorable hiſtory of Tom Thumb, and the Ogre's Daughters, is already begun by a celebrated writer.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"In ſhort, common ſenſe has been beaten off theatrical ground, by the genius of folly, who contrives to maintain a firm ſtation aſſiſted by her troops of harlequins, pantaloons, unknown animals, rope-dancers, tumblers and ſingers, ſo that I underſtand the managers have entered upon a ſcheme of conſiderably enlarging the theatre, for the ſake of accommodating the numerous retinue of nurſes and children, who attend in conſequence of theſe new entertainments.

"Morality has yielded to German philoſophy, and we may ſoon hope, by the aſſiſtance of the ſtage, to return to that original ſtate of *virtuous* ſimplicity, when marriage was unknown, or at leaſt unattended to: and dramatical compoſition is ſo completely devoted to modern principles of merit, buffoonery, and pantomime, that we muſt expect, if the preſent mode remains unaltered, that the whole nation will become modern philoſophers, merry-andrews, or pantaloons.

"The hope, however, ſtill exiſts, that when the dazzling novelty of the preſent theatrical ſpecies, which I am inclined to believe is their principle [principal] attraction, ſhall have ſubſided, the audience will begin to perceive their error, and return to the better taſte of their anceſtors, who were contented with the more ſimple amuſements of probable adventures, natural language, and moderate action in the performers. I am willing to expect, with confidence, the ſpeedy arrival of the period which ſhall reſtore to the ſtage its original but reſpected embelliſhments; when the intention of dramatic exhibitions ſhall again be directed towards the improvement of private morals, and the public diſpoſition; when amuſement ſhall unite with inſtruction, to recommend virtuous principles, or eradicate vicious inclinations; and the theatre ſhall again become the promoter of good taſte, literature, and morality."

We ſhall only add—

"'Tis a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed."

The reprehenſion of a cuſtom, but too prevalent in almoſt every claſs of ſociety; the introduction of foreign, and eſpecially of *French* terms, into our language, is equally ſevere and juſt. It is a barbarous cuſtom, not unfrequently uſed for the purpoſe of concealing ignorance under the maſk of knowledge. And in this, as in too many other reſpects, the writers in our newſpapers have contributed moſt largely to deprave the public taſte, and to render themſelves, and their ſtupid imitators, objects of contempt and deriſion to all men of ſober underſtanding, and of real knowledge.

It is needleſs to purſue our analyſis any farther, as we have already exhibited ſufficient ſpecimens of this production to enable our readers to appreciate its merits. It only remains for us to notice ſome few more grammatical errors, which we have marked in our progreſs through the volume, and which, though they are blemiſhes which ought not to have appeared, do not affect the general character of the work.

In P. 169, an error preciſely ſimilar to one before noticed occurs. "Coldneſs, *or* a kind of awkward reſtraint *are* (is), &c."—In the ſame page; "had he have called," for—if *he had called*.—"The cogency of their arguments *are* (is) generally impreſſed," &c.

Travels in Trinidad during the Months of February, March, and April, 1803; in a Series of Letters, addreſſed to a Member of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain. Illuſtrated with a Map of the Iſland. By Pierre F. M'Callam. 8vo. Pp. 354. Liverpool. Jones.

FROM the title-page of this work, we little ſuſpected the nature of the matter which it contains. We ſuppoſed, as many others, no doubt, will do, that we ſhould be inſtructed and amuſed with a

* This is evidently an error of the preſs, though unnoticed in the errata, and diſplays great inattention in the printer.

new

new combination of materials concerning the iſland of Trinidad. But the pleaſing illuſion vaniſhed, before we had proceeded a few ſtages in our progreſs. Line after line, and page after page, exhibited to our view the moſt unprincipled and indecent libel upon the character of a diſtinguiſhed individual, that for many years has claimed the attention of the public. This latter conſideration it is, which has induced us to enter at ſome length into the merits and tendency of a performance, ſtanding alone in the hiſtory of preſumptuous ignorance. The individual to whom we allude, and who has thus been vilified in the coarſeſt ſtrain of abuſe which the coarſeſt imagination could conceive, is no leſs than Brigadier-General Picton, late Governor of the iſland of Trinidad; upon the merits of whoſe conduct in that colony we feel it our duty, as it is our inclination, to be ſilent, as the ſubject will ſoon be diſcuſſed in its proper place, an Engliſh Court of Judicature. Had Mr. M'Callam been impreſſed with the ſame ſpirit of forbearance, the manuſcript of his work would have been committed to the flames (or would rather not have been written), and would not now exiſt as a monument of his folly and indiſcretion.

The compoſition in queſtion is divided into twenty letters, exhibiting neither ſelection of materials, nor elegance of arrangement; but diſfigured by an atrabilious malignity of temper, which no provocation could have warranted, and which a more temperate climate than that in which they were written, ſhould have ſuppreſſed. But the author was determined to publiſh; and it is our duty to examine his labours.

The firſt of the collection is a Journal of the author's departure from America, in which, *en paſſant*, we are favoured with "ſome curſory obſervations" on his "friend Touſſaint." The tone of ſelf-ſufficiency and impertinence which characterize the whole performance, cannot be exemplified better than in Mr. M'Callam's own words.

"The capital, Bridgetown, has been burnt four or five times. It is the ſeat of the Governor. The preſent one is Lord SEAFORTH, who, I find, is very much eſteemed; nor do I wonder at it, as his Lordſhip has always ſuſtained an amiable character. Every Governor is, by appointment, Chancellor of the iſland; and although his Lordſhip is deaf, yet his decrees are ſo equitable, as to procure the higheſt approbation. The town has an antique appearance; but what ſtrikes the ſtranger's attention, is the number of old women, cats, and parrots."

Thoſe perſons who can diſcover either dignity of narration, or the ſemblance of wit in this paſſage, muſt be formed of materials different from ourſelves. From Barbadoes Mr. M'Callam proceeded to Trinidad.

"On the 6th (which was Sunday with you, but here I obſerved no trace of it) we came aſhore, and were uſhered by Colonel Brown into the audience chamber of *Don Thomas Picton*, ci-devant *Governardor de la Ysla Britanica*

tanica de Trinidada, where we waited like malefactors for more than an hour and a half. In the mean time, I was diverted with the figure of a fine gentleman *sui generis*, who couched and recouched himself, at other times viewing his delicate features in a looking glass; frequently grinning eastward and grinning westward, admiring his grinders; when he strutted about, he gabbled like a goose. This creature, thought I, must be the great man's barber, probably the very brother of Curtis's barber, or it might be the identical barber himself. As I have not heard of him for a long time, I might have gone away under this impression, had I not heard Colonel Brown telling our Captain that his name was *M'Spriggin*, the Governor's aid-and-favourite. Is he in the army, then, said the Captain?—No; answered the Colonel. However, I could not divest my mind of the idea, that the personage before me was still the famous barber of *city* memory. Not having time to describe him more accurately, I shall be under the necessity of referring you to—*Hotspur's Description of a Fop.*"

And further on in the same strain of abuse, we are favoured with a kindred proof of the author's liberality.

"So is Picton, a mighty prater, whose knife was set in oil that it might cut the deeper, and never hesitated to engulf the reeking blade into the warm bowels of a fellow-creature, nor to pour *aqua-fortis* into the bleeding wound, in order to provoke the innocent object to a state of madness."

Surely the cause of B. G. Picton can sustain no injury from an enemy, who has already demonstrated, to the meanest capacity, a temper and disposition, so widely different from decorum and good manners; who has so egregiously set at defiance all the acknowledged decencies of temper, which are observed amongst men of *honour* even in their most rancorous feuds.

As the remainder of these letters have a unity of intention *prima facie*, it would be unnecessary to enter into a separate analysis of each; they are all subservient to the same purpose, which is, that of prejudicing the minds of the public against Mr. Picton; previous to the awful discussion which must speedily take place of his alleged delinquency. It is true Mr. M'Callum assigns to his conduct the noble motive of bringing a culprit to the bar of justice. Fie! Fie! upon the pretext. The business had been undertaken by higher authority. Why not have reserved his charges until the day of trial, and taken his proper station in the witness's box?

Were it not for the mischief which this book is calculated to produce; and the *uncommon avidity with which it will be circulated, both at home and abroad*, we should never have recorded its infamy in these pages. It is, both in essence and spirit, calculated to revive the deadly spirit of insubordination in Trinidad; and to communicate that spirit to every colony which we possess.

Had the author borne in mind his own declaration, when speaking of the mutiny of the 8th West India Regiment, we should now be performing a more pleasant duty. The following is part of a note, commenting on the melancholy relation of the revolt alluded to, and which appeared in the Barbadoes Mercury, of April 1802:—

"The

" The cauſe of this mutiny is attributed to the Colonel, the Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnſtone, but as he will ſoon take his trial on four charges exhibited againſt him by Major Gordon, of the ſaid regiment, it would be premature to offer any comment at preſent, although I might be juſtified in matters of fact, as well as in giving the public a detached account of his conduct during the time he was Governor of *Dominica*, which, according to the information in my poſſeſſion, does not evince much prudence."

And pray Mr. M'Callum, is not the late Governor of Trinidad under the ſame circumſtances as Colonel Johnſtone? Here you ſeem to have forgotten yourſelf; and as if to perſuade the reader that you lay ſome claim to the Chriſtian ſpirit of forbearance, you drop the high tone of magnanimous reſolution, which all along you have aſſumed, and for a moment reaſon like a gentleman. Under theſe feelings, or perhaps failings of humanity, why did you not adopt the reſolution which you ſeem to have formed of relinquiſhing the compoſition of the preſent letters.

" Since the commencement of theſe letters, I frequently indulged the idea of relinquiſhing altogether my preſent purſuits, from the many difficulties with which I am circumvented, and the danger I am expoſed to in a colony governed by the Inquiſition. If the members of it only knew that my pen is ſo devoted to the cauſe of humanity, they would ſoon torture the hand that holds it; therefore I am obliged to be extremely cautious, leſt my inquiries ſhould inſinuate ſuſpicion: I ſhall be as expeditious as poſſible, in order to leave a colony already ſo much a prey to calumny and faction. The *Inquiſition*, or as it is mildly and moſt nobly called, the *illuſtrious Cabildo*, conſiſts of thirteen members, who meet every Monday to plot deſtruction; it is compoſed of a French junto of Jacobins, the dregs of *Spain*, and the filthy outcaſts of the ſcum of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*."

We are not about to juſtify every meaſure of ſeverity which Governor P. exerciſed during the period of his command at Trinidad. But this we confidently aſſert, that from the moment when the iſland came into our poſſeſſion, it became a prey to diſloyalty and inſubordination. The ſeeds of civil commotion had ſtruck wide and deep; and every nerve of jacobiniſm was exerted to wreſt the poſſeſſion from the controul of legitimate authority, and to ſubject it to the multiplied horror of anarchy and bloodſhed. The ſame means which had been adopted to ſhake the tranquillity of an Empire, were purſued to diſturb the moral and political harmony of leſſer communities—the agency of *enterpriſing needy* men. The French declaration of " The Rights of Man," that impious jargon, had reached its ſhores; and ſo had the *whine and cant* of methodiſtical reformers, about the miſery of negro ſlavery—theſe poiſoned the minds of the inhabitants of Trinidad, who again ſpread the contagion amongſt the ſoldiery and the negroes. We throw down the gage to our political knight-errant, and dare him in his ſober moments to deny theſe facts. Under ſuch circumſtances, it became neceſſary that the Governor ſhould meet the evil with commenſurate firmneſs. And, however, the ſympathies of our nature may induce us to lament the ſeverities, which, no doubt,

were

were exerciſed, yet juſtice to Mr. P. and to the Britiſh name, demands of us an explicit avowal of our approbation of his conduct in this *particular* The ſpirit of diſorder was widely diſſeminated; the troops in garriſon repeatedly evinced a diſpoſition to inſubordination; and unhappily requiring the moſt ſummary examples of puniſhment. All this, however, our author moſt flatly denies, and introduces the following proclamation of the Governor, that he may have an opportunity of ſo doing.

"*By his Excellency* Thomas Picton, *Esq. Brigadier-General of his Majeſty's Forces, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island of Trinidad, and its Dependencies, &c. &c.*

"The Commanders of Quarters, and Alcades of Barriors, are called upon to pay ſtrict attention to the conduct of certain well-known ſeditious characters; who, diſappointed in their endeavours to impoſe upon the good ſenſe of the Britiſh inhabitants, are now employing every incendiary means to inſuſe a ſpirit of inſubordination amongſt the negroes and people of colour, by infamouſly repreſenting the wholeſome ſeverity of the law, exerciſed againſt fatal and pernicious crimes, which threatened the very exiſtence of the colony, as the emanation of a ſanguinary, vindictive diſpoſition, unneceſſarily prodigal of human blood.

"As no reflecting perſon can be ignorant of the wicked intentions of theſe nefarious conſpirators, his Excellency calls not only upon the conſtituted authorities, but upon every reſpectable individual who knows how to value the ſafety of his perſon and property, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to bring them forward; and he pledges himſelf that no obloquy or calumny ſhall deter him from doing prompt and ſubſtantial juſtice.

"Given at Government-Houſe, *Port of Spain*, this 5th day of Feb. 1802,

(Signed) "PICTON.

"By his Excellency's command,

"RICHARD COLLINS, Sec."

We have peruſed it again and again; and cannot but conſider it as a temperate and manly production, warranted by the circumſtances of the caſe. Where Mr. M'Callam obtained his information, that the inhabitants of Trinidad were uniformly loyal, we know not. But the caſe is otherwiſe; and we have taken conſiderable pains to aſcertain it. Not from the American newſpapers, thoſe filthy ſources of ignorance, and jacobinical principles, where we ſtrongly ſuſpect Mr. M'Callam has gathered his intelligence; but from reſidents in the iſland at the time, upon whoſe honour we place the moſt confident reliance. His Majeſty's miniſters were in poſſeſſion of the fact; and with the benevolent view to remedy the evil; and to aſſuage the ſpirit of internal animoſity, which prevailed in Trinidad, they appointed Colonel Fullarton, B. G. Picton and Commodore Hood, commiſſioners to adjuſt theſe unhappy differences. For reaſons unknown to us, and which a future day muſt develope, the firſt commiſſioner ſeparated himſelf from his colleagues, and left the iſland. But Mr M'Callam remained behind, no doubt with the *pureſt motives to correct the evils of its adminiſtration!* He is not the only unaccredited agent who has aſ-

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ſumed to himſelf the important taſk of government-mending; and we ſhrewdly ſuſpect, that the buſineſs is not new to him. B. G. Picton and Commodore Hood ſeem to have entertained the ſame opinion, as the ſequel will prove.

In conſequence of the alarming ſtate of the colony previous to the period of our author's arrival in Trinidad, the Governor had iſſued a proclamation, enjoining every new comer to enliſt himſelf within ten days after his arrival into the volunteer corps, which had been raiſed for the defence of the iſland; under a penalty for omiſſion of two hundred dollars.

Mr. M'Callam, however, remained in the iſland nearly three months, and omitted to comply with this politic requiſition; in conſequence of which omiſſion, this defiance of the authority of the Governor, *united with other circumſtances*, he was apprehended and brought before the firſt and third commiſſioners, who very properly queſtioned him upon the reaſons of his not having complied with the proclamation adverted to. The anſwers of Mr. M'Callam, are impertinent in the higheſt degree, and ſuch as no magiſtrate of the moſt inferior degree would endure for a moment. But Mr. M'Callam ſhall now ſpeak for himſelf. Having been interrogated, as we have juſt mentioned, he concludes his reply upon the illegality of the proclamation, by ſtating it to be contrary to the firſt article of the coronation oath, which ſays,

"*Will you ſolemnly promiſe, and ſwear to govern the people of this kingdom of* Great Britain, and all the dominions *thereunto belonging, according to the ſtatutes in Parliament agreed, and the laws, and cuſtoms of the ſame?* Now, gentlemen, if you will point out to me any act of parliament, that will warrant you, or your former Governor, to put in requiſition the ſubject, or ſubjects of the realm, I ſhall think it my duty to join the corps. Brigadier-General Picton might have iſſued this illegal and tyrannic mandate, but I am not obliged to conſider it as a law, for ſurely, in a Britiſh colony, I do not forfeit thoſe rights, which are the boaſt of every Briton; on the contrary, they follow me to the moſt diſtant corner of his Majeſty's dominions; and ſhould his delegates abridge them, the fate of Wall will, in future, ſerve as a beacon when they ſport with deſpotic authority.

We take the liberty of telling Mr. M'Callam that, under certain circumſtances, the king of England, in virtue of his prerogative, has an unqueſtionable right to put in requiſition every individual amongſt his ſubjects who is able to bear arms, and without the acquieſcence of the two other branches of the legiſlature. In the event of *actual* invaſion during the prorogation of parliament, muſt the executive government wait the legal time to aſſemble the Houſe of Commons, before it attempts to ſtop the progreſs of a daring invader? Certainly not. Agreeably to the Britiſh Conſtitution, and to the reaſon upon which all law is founded, every efficient member of the community is *ipſo facto* under requiſition; and liable to be immediately called upon, to repel the enemy; to maintain the contrary of which is very dangerous doctrine. The coronation oath, therefore, does nothing for Mr. M'Callam's

M'Callam's argument. But the univerſal diffuſion of the principle denying this right of the Sovereign, would do much for *his cauſe*. Commodore Hood ſtands no better with our author than Mr. Picton. But there is a reaſon for it, he ſuſpected Mr. M'Callam to have been a ſpy!

"The Commodore in his turn, has poſitively affirmed, that I was formerly an editor of a democratic paper in *London*, which was the cauſe of the mutiny in the fleet; that I once abuſed his late brother in that paper; and that I was a dangerous perſon in the colony. You ſee, Sir, how credulous the naval hero is, and how eaſily he is perſuaded to believe any thing, however falſe and prepoſterous. Knowing all theſe aſſertions to have no foundation in truth, I ſhall treat them and their diſſeminators with equal contempt, and wait my doom, which muſt now be near at hand."

In this country of *freedom*; this aſylum of political delinquency, we preſume the preſent letters were either written or matured. It may not be unneceſſary, perhaps, to mention in this place, that the principal inſtances of cruelty and outrage with which Mr. M. charges the governor of Trinidad, were not the reſult of his own perſonal obſervations, but were gathered in "ſhreds and patches," from the itinerant politicians with whom our author aſſociated. Neither does it appear, that during his confinement he experienced or ſuffered any privation of a rigorous or unfeeling nature.

In the laſt letter of "my Travels," which is "a Curſory View of the Hiſtorical Events in St. Domingo from the year 1790, till 1802," Mr. M'Callam paſſes a high eulogium upon the moſt miſchievous production which has ever appeared in the world.

"The declaration of the rights of man, that immortal work, beneficial to enlightened men, which, if true at all, ought to be as general as day light, was in the wretched iſlands, deſtined to give a taper light in the reſidence of the planter, whilſt the poor and deſtitute negro was to ſit in darkneſs in his hut."

This panegyric in favour of the French declaration of the Rights of Man, offers to us the moſt deciſive teſtimony of the nature of our author's political creed. It is equal to a volume on the ſubject. Has Mr. M. duly appreciated the merits of the declaration which has thus rouſed him to a blaze of oratory? This production of metaphyſic madneſs; this ſubtle inſtrument of deſigning villainy, has been a chief cauſe of all the horrors and maſſacres which for many years have lacerated the boſom of Europe. It has broken in upon the economy of God; has deſtroyed the decencies and diſtinctions of poliſhed ſociety, and has engendered a ſpirit of reſtleſſneſs and rebellion againſt lawful authority which ages cannot ſubdue.

As we have in the progreſs of this examination expreſſed with freedom our opinion of "my Travels *," it will not be neceſſary to add,

* The expreſſion of "my Travels," occurs in almoſt every page with an egotiſm and vanity which ſeem peculiar to Mr. M'Callam.

as a ſummary, our firm conviction that it is a bad book; and written with a bad intention.

Rainsford's *Hiſtory of Hayti.*

(Concluded from P. 244).

THE account of the internal ſtate of Hayti, which to us is perfectly novel, forms one of the moſt curious and intereſting parts of this volume. Major Rainsford, who was anxious to viſit the country after the revolution, thought it expedient to aſſume the character of an American, as the Engliſh were ſtill viewed with a jealous eye by the victorious blacks. He landed at Cape Francois, and repaired to the Hotel de la Republique. From his deſcription of this city, and of the people to whom it is now ſubject, we ſhall make a pretty long extract.

"Here were officers and privates, the colonel and the drummer, at the ſame table indiſcriminately; and the writer had been ſcarcely ſeated at a repaſt, in the firſt room to which he was conducted, when a fat negro, to initiate him in the general ſyſtem, helped himſelf frequently from his diſh, and took occaſion to ſeaſon his character by large draughts of the wine, accompanied with the addreſs of "Mon Americain." The appearance of the houſe, and its accommodations, were not much inferior to a London coffee-houſe, and, on particular occaſions, exhibited a ſuperior degree of elegance. Touſſaint not unfrequently dined here himſelf, but he did not ſit at the head of the table, from the idea (as was aſſerted) that the hours of refection and relaxation ſhould not be damped by the affected forms of the old regimen, and that no man ſhould aſſume a real ſuperiority in any other place than the field. He was in the evenings at the billiard-table, where the writer converſed and played with him ſeveral times; and he could not help, on ſome occaſions, when a want of etiquette diſturbed him for a moment, congratulating himſelf, that if he experienced not the refinement of European intercourſe, he ſaw no room for inſincerity; and that if delicate converſe did not always preſent itſelf, he was free from the affectation of ſentiment.

"In traverſing the once ſuperb city of the Cape, though preſenting a tolerable appearance from the ſhore, deſolation every where preſented itſelf. On the ſite where elegant luxury had exhauſted its powers to delight the voluptuary, all was magnificent ruin!—and, to mark the contraſt ſtronger, of the wrecks were compoſed temporary houſes for the American merchants, and petty ſhops inhabited by the natives. Several ſpacious ſtreets, towards the centre, diſplayed the walls of ſuperb edifices of five and ſix ſtories, with gilded balconies, of which the beautiful ſtructure exhibited the devaſtation that had occurred, with additional horror. Nor was this all; for, in different parts of theſe ruins, the ſad remains of the former poſſeſſors were viſibly mingled with the crumbling walls:

'There—heedleſs of the dead,
The ſhelter-ſeeking peaſant rears his ſhed,
And wonders man could want the larger pile.'

"Having been informed of a review which was to take place on the plain of the Cape, the writer availed himſelf of the opportunity, accompanied

panied by ſome Americans, and a few of his own countrymen who reſided there under that denomination. Of the grandeur of the ſcene he had not the ſmalleſt conception. Two thouſand officers were in the field, carrying arms, from the general to the enſign, yet with the utmoſt attention to rank; without the ſmalleſt ſymptom of the inſubordination that exiſted in the leiſure of the hotel. Each general officer had a demi-brigade, which went through the manual exerciſe with a degree of expertneſs ſeldom witneſſed, and performed, equally well, ſeveral manœuvres applicable to their method of fighting. At a whiſtle, a whole brigade ran three or four hundred yards, then, ſeparating, threw themſelves flat on the ground, changing to their backs or ſides, keeping up a ſtrong fire the whole of the time, till they were recalled; they then formed again, in an inſtant, into their wonted regularity. This ſingle manœuvre was executed with ſuch facility and preciſion, as totally to prevent cavalry from charging them in buſhy and hilly countries. Such complete ſubordination, ſuch promptitude and dexterity, prevailed the whole time, as would have aſtoniſhed any European ſoldier, who had the ſmalleſt idea of their previous ſituation.

"The pleaſing ſenſations inſpired by the ability manifeſted in this review were checked by the additional monuments of human ferocity which preſented themſelves on his return to the city; the conflagration of which, and of the ſurrounding plantations, was ſtill in the memory of ſeveral Americans, who deſcribed the effect as awfully grand beyond conception.

"In one of the ſquares, in the north-weſt quarter, was placed an edifice, that made ſome amends for the deſolation appearing in its vicinity, from the elegance of its execution. It was an aſcent to a canopy, or dome, of which the architecture was not perfectly regular; beneath which were two ſeats, and, above them, an inſcription, that eminently exhibited the tolerance of Touſſaint. There were two centinels to guard it; who, being aſked if any one might aſcend the ſteps, anſwered in the affirmative, but with a ſtrict prohibition againſt touching the cap of liberty, which crowned it. It was a tribute of reſpect to the memory of Santhonax and Polverel, the French Commiſſioners, and had been erected by ſome of their advocates, at a time when their largeſſes obtained for them what they would not otherwiſe have enjoyed—a tranſitory popularity. An extract from a ſpeech of one of them formed part of the inſcription, in French, and which countenanced the opinion, that the abolition of ſlavery was a primary object of their miſſion. It was to the following effect:—

'My Friends,
We came to make you free.
Frenchmen give Liberty to the World.
You are free.
Guard your Freedom.
Vive la Liberté! Vive la Republique!
Vive Robeſpierre!'

"The remainder of the inſcription conſiſted of a ſelection from the proclamation for aboliſhing ſlavery. The prevailing opinion of theſe men, notwithſtanding they had been execrated for their conduct, was favourable to their talents, and to their ſpirit.

"Though impreſſed with the neceſſity of caution, it would have required much more *sang-froid* than was poſſeſſed by the obſerver, to reſiſt the numerous impulſes of mingling with a people whoſe conduct preſented the moſt

moſt generous hoſpitality, and objects of the moſt intereſting contemplation. He obtained acceſs to the houſes of moſt whoſe intercourſe could furniſh either information or pleaſure; nor did he reject the negro hut at other times, though certainly of leſs attraction.

"As in all ſtates of human ſociety, particularly in the vortex of a revolution, which effected ſo complete a change, the able and the cunning had elevated themſelves above thoſe who were of the ſame rank of life. Negroes, recollected in the loweſt ſtate of ſlavery, including Africans, filled ſituations of truſt and reſponſibility: they were, likewiſe, in many inſtances, occupied by thoſe who had been in ſuperior circumſtances under the old regimen, free negroes, and mulattoes.

"The ſuperior order had attained a ſumptuouſneſs of life, with all the enjoyments which dignity could obtain, or rank confer. The interior of their houſes was, in many inſtances, furniſhed with a luxe beyond that of the moſt voluptuous European, while no want of trans-atlantic elegance appeared; nor, amidſt a general fondneſs for ſhew, was the chaſteneſs of true taſte always neglected. Their etiquette extended to a degree of refinement ſcarcely to be conceived; and the ſervice of their domeſtics, among whom were, from what cauſe was not aſcertained, ſome mulattoes, was performed with more celerity than in many inſtances in Europe. A conſcious eaſe, and certain *gaieté de cœur*, preſided over every repaſt. Converſation had free ſcope, except as related to their own former circumſtances; but when the defence of their country was the ſubject, every eye filled with fire, and every tongue ſhouted—Victory! The names of ſome, who had receded from the Black army were, the only objects that ſeemed to excite deteſtation. In many inſtances the writer has heard reaſoning, and witneſſed manners of acuteneſs and elegance, the relation of which would appear incredible, from thoſe who were remembered in a ſtate of ſervitude, or whoſe parents were in ſituations of abject penury; while ſallies of wit, not frequently ſurpaſſed, have enlivened many an hour. It would ill become him, notwithſtanding the tide of prejudice, which has always prevaded his aſſertions, to ſuppoſe his readers capable of gratification from the chit-chat of a St. Domingo table; and it would be equally unjuſt to employ the opportunities afforded him by unguarded kindneſs, in the accumulation of fleeting anecdotes, ariſing from domeſtic privacy. He therefore contents himſelf with ſtating, that the enjoyments of life were to be found in a high degree in the capital of St. Domingo, and that their alloy did not exceed, nor perhaps always equal, that of ancient European cities.

"The men were, in general, ſenſible and polite, often dignified and impreſſive; the women frequently elegant and engaging. The intercourſe of the ſexes was on the moſt rational footing; and the different degrees of colour which remained had loſt moſt of that natural hoſtility which formerly exiſted. Several Americans had intermarried with ladies of colour very advantageouſly, and to appearance happily. They were, generally, very agreeable women, and felt no inequality in their difference of complexion or nation. Like Sappho, they could plead (in many inſtances, in point of wit, ſprightlineſs, and pathos, little inferior to the Leſbian muſe, though without her powers of ſong)

> 'Brown though I am, an Ethiopian dame
> Inſpir'd young Perſeus with a generous flame;
> Turtles and doves of different hues unite,
> And gloſſy black is pair'd with ſhining white.'

"The

"The drama, that ſource of rational delight, always ſo prevalent in St. Domingo, exiſted, in more ſtrength and propriety than it had done before; and that licentiouſneſs which appears inſeparable to it in a higher ſtate, was actually reſtrained. The repreſentations were chiefly comedies *en vaudeville*, and a ſort of pantomime; ſometimes ſerious repreſentations, alluſive to local circumſtances, and ſometimes merely humourous burleſques. The conduct of the whole was highly creditable to the talents of the performers, ſome of whom yet remained from the French ſchool, who, although driven to ſeek a livelihood under ſuch doubtful auſpices, might have ſhone with equal luſtre to their more fortunate contemporaries on an European ſtage. The Black performers, who preponderated in number, were not behind in talents: the writer ſaw a play of Moliere's performed with an accuracy that would not have diſgraced the firſt theatre in Europe. Even painting, from ſome recent ſpecimens, appeared to be encouraged, and cultivated as an accompliſhment, in a ſlight degree. A young lady of colour, of the name of La Roche, preſented a large company, of which the writer was one, in the courſe of a few minutes, with their likeneſſes, very accurately cut in profile. Muſic, alſo, though it muſt be confeſſed, not ſuch as to vie with the harmony of the ſpheres, was every where prevalent to an exceſs, and the practice of moſt kinds in uſe, though ſtringed inſtruments were preferred. Yet, with an ardent ſenſibility that appeared in many inſtances, and which could not fail to be cultivated under preſent circumſtances, the rich Blacks ſuffered the greater part of the capital to lie in ruins; they appeared to ſhrink from re-inſtating it, as if in rebuilding their former reſidences, they ſhould create new maſters.

"The ſituation of thoſe who ſtill remained in humble privacy, and who formed the great bulk of the people, was indeed very greatly changed. Their condition, agreeably to their capacities of enjoyment, approached nearer happineſs than many others which are conſidered its ultimatum. Crimes were by no means frequent, and thoſe rather attributable to accident than vice. They were perfectly at liberty as regarded themſelves, and were more ready to perform their ſocial duties, than the ſtate was urgent in requiring them. Thoſe qualities, conſpicuous in the negroes under their worſt circumſtances, their regard for all the relations of life, and tenderneſs to each other, ſeemed expanded with their freedom, and many of the little prejudices that had exiſted wore away. Thoſe amuſements, which were formerly ſuppreſſed, had now free ſcope, but they reſtrained themſelves from public annoyance with more regularity than could have been affected by the ſtricteſt police.

"The *menage* of the labourer, in the town and its vicinity, was improved in a proportion equal to his condition. A rough yet neat couch ſupplied the place of the wretched bedding of a former period; and the viſitor was not unprovided for; though it is lamentable to ſtate, that in ſeveral inſtances the furniture of the cottage was beholden to the public commotions; and in one inſtance, painfully riſible, a beautiful fire-ſcreen, the dexterous workmanſhip of ſome fair ſufferer, concealed a dog then roaſting from ſome of their fellows, who conſidered it opprobrious to be *mangeurs des chiens*."

This is a very flattering deſcription, indeed; and, if it be correct (and far be it from us to queſtion its accuracy), it preſents a very different picture of this extraordinary empire, from that which the major part of the European world, we ſuſpect, had previouſly drawn in their

their own imaginations. This people, whom the French, after the peace of Amiens, first sent an army to reduce them, was generally described as a horde of ferocious savages, destitute alike of discipline and of resources, and consequently unable to make the smallest stand against their powerful and determined assailants. But how completely has the result falsified this prediction, and demonstrated the ignorance of those who made it, certainly with more confidence than judgment.

Our traveller, however, soon became an object of suspicion. He was accordingly apprehended; tried, in a summary way, by a Military Commission, at which the black General Christophe presided; and condemned to die. He was relieved, however, during his confinement, by a benevolent female of colour, who supplied him with food and refreshments, at the risk of her life; and was, at length, released, by the humanity of Toussaint.

The interview between Toussaint and his children, who were sent to allure him to the interest of the French, is described in an affecting manner. After the failure of this attempt, Toussaint, to whom Buonaparté had just written in the most flattering terms, was publicly proclaimed a rebel and an outlaw; and the cold-blooded miscreant, Le Clerc, whose atrocities were only equalled by his ignorance, carried on a furious war against the Blacks, employing the usual resource of the French, fraud united with force, to subdue them. He so far succeeded as to detach some of Toussaint's principal generals from his cause; when, elated with his success, he pressed forward to give battle to Toussaint himself, with whom a part of his army came up, on the 24th of February, 1802.

"On the same day, Rochambeau's division entered the Ravine-a-Couleuvre, where General Toussaint, with his guard, forming a corps of fifteen hundred grenadiers, drawn from different demi-brigades, and about twelve hundred other chosen troops, with the addition of four hundred dragoons, waited to receive them in person. The Ravine-a-Couleuvre is extremely well protected, being flanked by lofty mountains covered with wood; in advantageous places were posted more than two thousand cultivators. They formed a considerable number of abattis, which obstructed the passage, and occupied the entrenched positions which commanded the Ravines. From the advantages of the defection, and a knowledge of the country, General Rochambeau executed his movement with a rapidity similar to that of the enemy he was encountering, and attacked their entrenchments. A battle ensued, in which, Le Clerc acknowledges, "man was opposed to man, and the troops of Toussaint fought well." It was an affair deserving an accurate description in the military annals of the time. The ability and bravery of the French troops were called forth, and every manœuvre of the Black tactics was displayed. On a bloody field, at the close of the day, victory remained doubtful, and each party were more anxious with regard to their future movements, than the honour of superiority so dearly bought. Toussaint retired to the banks of La Petit Riviére, and Le Clerc to Gonaives. General Maurepas continued in considerable power in the western province, and repelled the attacks of Generals Debelle and Boudet, until they were reinforced by two divisions, those of Desfourneaux and Rochambeau,

diſpatched by the French General to ſupport and collect their ſcattered forces."

This battle alone was fully ſufficient to remove the falſe impreſſion which was entertained, reſpecting the abſolute inability of the Blacks to oppoſe any effectual reſiſtance to the French. The latter, however, made ſome progreſs, which induced Le Clerc, though ſtill in poſſeſſion of a very ſmall part of St. Domingo, boldly to aſſert, that he was *maſter of the colony*. But in this he ſoon found himſelf woefully deceived. And, at the very time when Buonaparté was declaring to his proſtituted Senate, that Touſſaint was reduced to the laſt extremity, "without fortreſſes, without money, and without an army," that active chief poured down with his battalions into the plain of the Cape, deſtroyed all who attempted to oppoſe his progreſs, and, after laying waſte the adjacent country, retired, without loſs, to the mountains. This ſpecies of warfare was carried on for a ſhort time, when a peace was concluded (in May, 1802), and Touſſaint retired to his plantation at L'Ouverture, whence he was afterwards kidnapped by Le Clerc, the worthy brother-in-law of the Corſican ruffian. *Par nobile fratrum!* Of the ſtate of the country after this act, we have the following brief account:—

"The government at this period (if, in the inſubordinate ſtate in which every thing appeared, any government could be conſidered to exiſt) aſſumed a complexion more ſanguinary and terrible than can be conceived among civilized people, and formed a new æra in martial law. In attempting to diſarm the Black troops which had been incorporated with the French, the neceſſity whereof was diſcovered too late, the moſt barbarous methods were practiſed. Ship-loads were collected, and ſuffocated in the holds. In one inſtance, ſix hundred being ſurrounded, and attempting a reſiſtance, were maſſacred on the ſpot; and ſuch ſlaughters daily took place in the vicinity of Cape Francois, that the air became tainted by the putrefaction of the bodies. At the ſame time, the French troops being driven from the field, and obliged to fortify themſelves in the chief towns, contagion ſpread every where, and the diſtreſs became dreadfully general. In their extremity, to aid and fill up the meaſure of their enormities, the uſe of blood-hounds was reſorted to—that dreadful expedient, the temporary adoption of which, in a neighbouring colony, had already excited the diſguſt of the powers of Europe *.

"Fort

* "In this alluſion to the circumſtance of the introduction of blood-hounds to an Engliſh colony, the author has no other aim than to add his teſtimony (he was an eye-witneſs) to the rectitude of the Governor of Jamaica in regard to their uſe. Though a ſucceſsful, yet it was a dangerous experiment, and one which will, it is hoped, never be again tried by Britiſh ſoldiers; but with the controul of ſuch men as Lord Balcarras and General Walpole, the rights of humanity can no more be violated, than the higheſt point of military honour or diſcipline. The writer was witneſs to an anxiety with regard to *any* employment of the dogs in the noble governor, which muſt

"Fort Dauphin, Port Paix, and ſeveral other favourite eſtabliſhments were, by the middle of October, completely loſt to the French; and it became known to the ſeamen who viſited the Bight of Leogane; that after a conſiderable number of Blacks had been hunted down in the neighbourhood of Port Republicain, they were hurried on board of the ſhips at anchor in the bay, and crowded into their holds; that, under cover of the night, this diſhonoured navy put to ſea, and firſt either burning brimſtone in the hold, or extinguiſhing ſenſe by ſuffocation, or neither, the miſerable cargoes were diſcharged into the ſea, in ſuch quantities, that at length the tide (as if the mighty Arbiter of all, meant to hold their ſhame before them) brought the corpſes into the bay, and rolled them on the very beach. Human nature recoils at the deſcription, yet the ſcene is not ended,—under the dark concealment of night, the tender wife, the aged parent, and even the rougher comrade in arms, ſtealing by the watchful ſuſpicion of their maſters, were ſeen wandering on the ſea-ſhore, to identify each victim as the wave produced him."

On the firſt of November this year, Le Clerc died, and was ſucceeded by Rochambeau: and, in the courſe of ten months, no leſs than 40,000 French troops are ſaid to have been deſtroyed, by the joint efforts of the ſword and the climate. Freſh ſupplies, however, were ſent from time to time; the war was continued, with ſhort intervals of peace, and cruelties were again perpetrated by the French, on their priſoners, and were at length retaliated by the Blacks, who were now commanded by Deſſalines. But, in the ſummer of 1803, the Black Chief, after defeating his opponents in every quarter, laid ſiege to the Cape, which was alſo blockaded by a Britiſh ſquadron. In the month of November, Rochambeau was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating with Deſſalines, and, afterwards, of ſurrendering his whole force, conſiſting of 8000 men, with three frigates, and ſeventeen merchantmen, to the Commander of the Britiſh ſhips. Thus ended this ill-fated expedition, defeating the hopes, and marring the proſpects, diſappointing the expectations, and falſifying the predictions of its projectors. With the new year, a new empire was

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muſt confer eternal honour on his feelings as a gentleman and a ſoldier, while the ſentiments of General Walpole on the occaſion are equally honourable. Strange as it may appear to thoſe who had an opportunity of knowing the fact, the public mind (with a jealouſy of national character moſt laudable and dignified) has never been ſatisfied that the Maroons were not really hunted down, and deſtroyed by blood-hounds: it is therefore moſt ſolemnly declared in this place, that no farther uſe was made of them than being marched in the rear of the army, to inſpire terror in the Blacks; as has been mentioned in an account furniſhed to his reſpectable hiſtorian by Mr. Quarrel, although the writer is not certain that the care taken by Lord Balcarras to prevent it, was perfectly conſonant to the inclinations of that gentleman. Some accidents, and perhaps more than thoſe ſtated by Mr. Dallas, did occur, but they were never let looſe, indiſcriminately, by a Britiſh general, for the inhuman purpoſes for which they are bred."

eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, and its primitive name, *Hayti*, reſtored to this importan colony. Of its ſtate ſubſequent to this revolution, we have already extracted our author's deſcription. We ſhall now add his *opinion* reſpecting its future deſtiny, and with that cloſe our account of a work which, we muſt repeat, contains much uſeful and valuable information.

" Should they adhere to the baſis on which they have founded their proceedings, and remain unmoleſted by European powers, they may arrive at the moſt enviable ſtate of grandeur and felicity; but ſhould any evil ſpirits obtain a footing among them, and interrupt the harmony which may otherwiſe be maintained, by occaſioning factions to ariſe from old contentions, or new diviſions, the frequent conſequence of overgrown wealth or dominion, they will in all probability fulfil the prediction of Edwards, by becoming 'ſavages in the midſt of ſociety, without peace, ſecurity, agriculture, or property.'

" But, in either caſe, their reduction to their former ſituation is impoſſible; and though Europe waſte her armies, and exhauſt her navies in the endeavour, the Blacks of St. Domingo will be unſubdued; and if they cannot repel the invaſion of a reiterated and extended force, they will cut them off, as hath been already obſerved, with a ſcythe more keen and rapid than that of time. Every year and every day has been, and will ſtill continue, to be pregnant with experience to them, and no power on earth will be able to reduce them, while their population will continue to increaſe in a vaſt proportion. The writer has reiterated theſe ſentiments for ſeveral years, and through a period in which their confirmation *appeared* more than doubtful; his opinions were diſintereſted, and unmingled with any prejudice, either local, political, or pecuniary, and every event has tended to ſtrengthen them. Should it ever happen in the courſe of time, that any of the various means diſpenſed by Providence to check the exuberance of population ſhould fall on Hayti, either in the form of contagion, or by a multiplication of the various diſeaſes to which the African race are ſubject, in the degeneration of ſlavery; and that a white population ſhould by that time be formed, capable of taking advantage of ſuch a calamity; then, but not till then, ſhould the neighbouring continent of America be in a ſtate to colonize, or the policy of European governments deſire the attainment of the moſt ſplendid colony of the Antilles, an opportunity might poſſibly be afforded. Whether it would be rational on the ſcore of juſtice or humanity to do ſo, is a ſubject not to be argued at preſent. Thoſe who undertake the project, if ever it ſhould be undertaken, will be capable of defending it with plauſibility,"

The Female Revolutionary Plutarch, containing Biographical, Hiſtorical, and Revolutionary Sketches, Characters, and Anecdotes. By the Author of the Revolutionary Plutarch, and Memoirs of Tallyrand. 3 vol. 12mo. Pp. 1336. Murray. 1805.

THESE volumes are dedicated to the revered memory of the perſecuted Queen of France, " whoſe murder (ſays the author) is ſtill unrevenged." Not quite ſo, for *moſt* of her aſſaſſins, like thoſe of

of our firſt Charles, have periſhed, either on the ſcaffold, by their own hands, or by other violent means. We have here the political lives, or rather, as the author terms them, Biographical Sketches of Forty Females who have borne a conſpicuous part in the dreadful Tragedy of the French Revolution. Of courſe, we have a motley exhibition of tranſcendant virtues, and of enormous vices, in the contemplation of which admiration and diſguſt are alternately excited, in the mind of the reader. To analyſe ſuch a production would not be practicable within the limits of neceſſity preſcribed to ſuch an article of criticiſm; we muſt therefore content ourſelves with an article or two, by way of ſpecimen of the author's ſtyle, in the firſt place, (which, by the bye, is very much improved), and ſecondly, that our readers may be enabled to form ſome opinion of the entertainment which they may expect from the peruſal of theſe volumes.

" Among the many Swiſs heroines, whoſe names are ſtill in the mouth of every friend of liberty and of honour in the Helvetian Alps, is that of Martha Glar, a daughter, grand-daughter, wife, ſiſter, mother and grandmother of ſhepherds; of thoſe innocent citizens, whoſe retired and obſcure lives, until they were viſited by the curſes of heaven and the offſprings of hell, French revolutioniſts, paſſed in hard labour, but in honeſt independence; in performing thoſe moral and ſocial virtues, which every where proclaim the religious faith of ſincere Chriſtians.

" In thoſe vallies, among thoſe mountains, on the banks of thoſe lakes, where generations had glided away, undiſturbed for ages, the rumour of French threats, the report of Gallic perfidy, and the relations of revolutionary ferocity, ſuddenly penetrated in the latter part of 1797, and in the beginning of 1798, not to terrify trembling cowards, but to excite enthuſiaſm among a brave and loyal people acquainted with their own worth and with the juſtice of their cauſe, and therefore thinking themſelves invincible. Alas! they were not aware that againſt daſtardly aſſaſſins and armed ſlaves, backed by artificial ſupport, by a numerous artillery, experienced in tactics and adroit in manœuvres, natural bravery and innate heroiſm often avail but little.

" Martha Glar, when in February 1798 her huſband had marched with all other farmers, peaſants, and ſhepherds, againſt an approaching enemy, convoked and collected around her all her countrywomen and girls of the ſame pariſh with her. This meeting took place in the church-yard, on the laſt Sunday of February, half an hour before divine ſervice was to be performed. She addreſſed them thus:

' Daughters of William Tell! the time is now at hand when you may prove yourſelves worthy deſcendants of that hero, of that father, of that deliverer of his country.

' At the time that our country is in peace with all nations, friends with all people, reſpecting the uſages of every body, encroaching on the claims of none, thoſe deteſtable Frenchmen, with whoſe vicinity Providence has puniſhed us for our ſins; thoſe ſcourges of mankind, have dared to threaten us with the ſame fetters which degrade themſelves, and hope to impoſe upon us the ſame ſhameful yoke, which has made them degenerate, and reduced them to a level with the moſt ferocious of beaſts of prey. Our fathers, our huſbands, our brothers, our ſons, and our friends are already advancing to

oppoſe them. Suppoſe they are defeated by ſuperior numbers; ſuppoſe the God of Victory is as blind, as unjuſt, as indifferent as Fortune, the ſole divinity of French infidels and blaſphemers: will you ſtoop to receive the conſolation from, and the embraces of their aſſaſſins? Will you ſuffer thoſe criminals to chain you to their bondage; to their enormities? Will you ſerve as miſtreſſes or as ſervants thoſe monſters who in ſuch an unprovoked barbarous manner have made you widows, orphans, and mourners? The expreſſions of your countenances beam with patriotic and becoming indignation. No, never! rather death—a thouſand deaths!

'My deareſt friends, if this is your ſincere determination, we have nothing to do but to arm and to march, and immediately to join in the ranks, combat by the ſide, or periſh in our country's cauſe by the corpſes of thoſe ſo juſtly dear to us.

'But ſome of you may perhaps think that thoſe who have butchered our relatives and friends, our defenders, our protectors, and our fellow-citizens, may perhaps have ſome regard for our ſex, and ſuffer us at leaſt to moan and to cry undiſturbed and in peace. Can any one of you be ſo blind, ſo weak, or ſo ignorant, as to believe that it is poſſible that ſlaves can confer freedom, and guilty wretches evince any juſt, generous, nay even human feelings?

'Remember! I beſeech you remember, that wherever revolutionary Frenchmen have hitherto penetrated, crime has always accompanied them, infamy and oppreſſion continued with them, and want, diſtreſs, and miſery, remained behind them.

'But ſuppoſe (what there is not the moſt diſtant probability of happening) that they ſhould behave better to us than they have done to our German and Italian neighbours; ſuppoſe that they do not pollute our temples, plunder our property, violate our ſiſters, ſeduce the chaſtity of our daughters, and pervert the morality of our ſons; ſuppoſe they do not make us abandoned and profligate as well as ruined and wretched; are we, we who are the deſcendants of freemen, to live and to ſee our country enchained and our poſterity enſlaved? are we to expoſe ourſelves to be hunted by the bayonets of the invaders from the reeking rubbiſh of our dwellings, from the tombs of our foreſathers, from the altars of our God, to the bed of the regicide who oppreſſes us, or of the plunderer who ruins us? are we to ſerve like beaſts of burden to the projects of univerſal overthrow of theſe great and ambitious criminals? or are we to decorate as trophies the triumphal chariot or entry of a vile and corrupted tyrant? I think that I feel the bones of our anceſtors rattling with horror under me in their graves of this ſacred place! I imagine I hear them call to us loudly from their bleſſed abodes: 'Daughters of freemen! die, or bequeath to your children the happineſs and liberty you inherited from your fathers.' Yes! yes! I believe I ſee the heavenly ſpirit of William Tell deſcend and inſpire us to perform valiantly what we owe to our country, to our families, to our cauſe, and to ourſelves.' ('Let us arm, and let us march!' reſounded from all parts.) 'I rejoice,' continued Martha Glar, 'in obſerving and hearing your noble determination and your liberal ſentiments. Ages to come will record a patriotiſm on which I moſt ſincerely compliment you. I cannot, however, preſent you either with embroidered ſtandards, with decorated helmets, or with glittering arms; but in the day of battle do not loſe ſight of Martha Glar, her daughters, and her grand-daughters; they will always be found in the way of honour and glory; let them ſerve you for a rallying point. Should victory not crown our efforts, we ſolemnly ſwear not to ſurvive our defeat;

and

and this my addreſs to you, deareſt countrywomen, will then be our laſt and eternal adieu, in the firm conviction that we ſhall one day meet again to ſeparate no more. The patriot's place in heaven is next to that of the ſaint, and the Creator of the univerſe ſmiles equally on both.

'But no! let us lay aſide all gloomy ideas, all doleful preſentiments: let us have more confidence in an all-governing Providence. Let us now follow our worthy paſtor, whom I ſee advancing towards our church, and with him implore the bleſſing of the Almighty on our undertakings, on our patriotic oath, TO CONQUER OR TO DIE, TO LIVE OR TO PERISH WITH THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF OUR DEAR COUNTRY.'

"Martha Glar, after achieving prodigies of valour at the battle of Frauenbrun, on the 3d of March 1798, was, at the age of 64, ſlain, together with two daughters and three grand-daughters, of whom the youngeſt was ſcarcely ten years old, by the ſide of her father, huſband, brother, and two ſons, who were all likewiſe killed. Of the two hundred and ſixty women whom her patriotiſm had rouſed, one hundred and eighty periſhed, and the remainder were carried wounded or mutilated from the field of battle. Their French murderers being ſtill the tyrants of their country, no marble is yet conſecrated to their memory, to record ſo much heroiſm; but when the day of deliverance comes, in every church-yard in Helvetia a monument will be erected to thoſe whoſe fate every patriotic and tender mind deplores. Thus the French *friends* of liberty aſſaſſinated liberty in her native ſoil; and puniſhed the mountains of Helvetia, as they intend to do the plains, dales, and hills, of Great Britain, for having given her birth *."

The next extract we ſhall make contains an intereſting and pathetic account of an unfortunate lunatic who fancied herſelf the Queen of France.

"In the forenoon of the 2d of November 1794, a young and beautiful female about eighteen, dreſſed in the deepeſt mourning, attracted a crowd around her on the Pont-neuf by her lamentations, and by her tears. By feeling expreſſions, and pathetic though incoherent language and manners, ſhe called for the pity, and demanded the ſupport, of every paſſenger. She ſaid that ſhe was their queen, whom regicides had beheaded, but whom Providence on that day, her former birth-day, had reſtored to life. She diſplayed before the people ſome deep ſcars round her neck, the marks of the guillotine, which ſhe ſaid would never be healed before the Dauphin her ſon aſcended the throne of his anceſtors. Her good huſband, their king, Louis XVI. ſhe informed them, would never more appear upon earth, being ſeated in heaven on the right hand of his Saviour by the ſide of St. Louis, where he prays to convert and forgive his aſſaſſins. She declared that ſhe every night viſited her children in the Temple; but that ſhe was ordered from above to ſhew herſelf during the day, a living example of divine goodneſs, to warn Frenchmen of eternal perdition.

"She interrupted her ſpeech every moment with prayers for the living and for the dead, for friends and for foes. She always ended her devotion with imploring Divine Providence for the repoſe of the ſoul of Louis XVI.

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* "Beſides the authorities already quoted, Diſſolution of the Swiſs Confederacy, by Planta; the very well-written Caſſandre, by the loyal General Danican; and Europaiſche Annalen for 1798; have been conſulted in this ſketch."

and for the preſervation of her ſon and daughter. When aſked by brutal intruders whether ſhe had heard any thing of Robeſpierre in the other world, ſhe turned pale, and almoſt fell into fits; but her tears relieved her, and ſhe anſwered ſtammering: 'Yes; yes! ah, how the monſter ſuffers! the devils day and night moving his entrails with a red hot poker, burning but never conſuming them.'

"The number of perſons collected round her, or rather the compaſſion ſhe ſeemed to excite, cauſed the police-agent to deſire her to walk with him, as he wiſhed to ſpeak with her; but the mob interfered, ſaying it was a cruelty to arreſt an innocent and harmleſs woman, whoſe infanity itſelf was tenderneſs and charity, and no doubt the effect of ſome ſevere afflictions: he was therefore for that time obliged to relinquiſh his prey. She had indeed, between praying and ſpeaking, diſtributed among thoſe near her whoſe external appearance beſpoke want, both what money ſhe had and a great part of her clothes, and almoſt every thing but her mourning gown. She refuſed however to part with a medallion having a portrait of Louis XVI. on one ſide, and thoſe of his two children the Princeſs Royal and the Dauphin on the other."

This unhappy creature was ſoon ſeized by the police-officers and conveyed to a public receptacle for lunatics, where ſhe ſtill ſupported the royal character which ſhe had aſſumed, held her levies, had her court days, and exhibited all the imaginary pomp of frenzied royalty. She died in this place, on the 20th of July, 1799, and, notwithſtanding all the vigilant reſearches of a revolutionary police, no diſcovery could be made of her name, or birth. Probably, ſhe was ſome unhappy lady, the murder of whoſe family, and the plunder of whoſe property, had driven her to madneſs.

Madame Roland's Life is interſperſed with a variety of pertinent obſervations, tending to expoſe the pſeudo-patriotiſm and falſe philoſphy of that revolutionary heroine. Beſides theſe biographical ſketches, there are various other papers introduced, filled with revolutionary anecdotes, ſome of which make us ſhudder with horror. As this work is well calculated to pleaſe that numerous claſs of readers who have read with ſatisfaction the former productions of the ſame author, (which have run through ſeveral editions) there can be no doubt but that it will meet with equal ſucceſs.

It is neceſſary to obſerve that the author almoſt always refers to the authorities where he has derived his information, ſo that thoſe who doubt his veracity may have their doubts diſpelled by a reference to the original documents.

MISCELLANIES.

Obſervations on the Cultivation of Waſte Lands. Addreſſed to the Gentlemen and Farmers of Glamorganſhire. By James Capper, formerly Colonel and Comptroller-General of the Army and Fortification Accompts on the Coaſt of Coromandel. Pp. 61. 8vo. Egerton. 1805.

COLONEL CAPPER, after retiring to Wales, now preſents the public with a brief extract from his Farming Journal, during four years, accompanied with obſervations, and detailing the ſucceſs of his plan of cultivating

tivating "a part of the new encloſure on Cardiff Great Heath, Glamorganſhire." The author's experience induces him to ſpeak very decidedly in favour of paring and burning, as the beſt means of improving waſte lands. A field of ten acres coſt for paring, burning, ploughing, ſowing, &c. 68l. 2s. 6d. and yielded eight buſhels per acre, at 30s. per buſhel, which gave a clear profit of 51l. 17s. 6d. The beſt courſe of crops, ſhould the firſt ſucceed, he conſiders to be wheat, then turnips, followed by barley or oats, and ray graſs and clover. It is alſo ſtated, that capital thus employed will give a return of 30 per cent. but that the cultivator who would occupy an encloſure of an 100 acres ſhould poſſeſs at leaſt 1000l. capital, and the gentleman who would convert 1000 acres of waſte lands into a demeſne, ſhould reſerve 20,000l. to inſure the moſt complete ſucceſs. It is unneceſſary to obſerve that the Colonel is a temperate friend to general encloſure. In his preface, he ſuggeſts the propriety of eſtabliſhing a "ſchool of induſtry for the children of the labouring poor of the county," that we think merits the attention of the officers for the poor in every county in England. The pamphlet abounds with thoſe proofs of juſt obſervation and good ſenſe that are the fruit of experience. The author's remarks on labourers are as profound as they are humane, and cannot fail being eminently uſeful to farmers and their ſervants.

Reply to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, containing Remarks on his Letter to Mr. Wilberforce, and a farther Account of the Diſcovery of the Power of Mineral Acids in a State of Gas to deſtroy Contagion. By John Johnſtone, M. D. Pp. 279. 8vo. 5s. Mawman. 1805.

IRA multa facere cogit mala: Mercy on poor Dr. Smyth; Chaptals, Guytons, and Johnſtones, French and Engliſh, attack him with pitileſs fury. A volume of Doctors, A. B. C. &c. Johnſtones, dead, living, and yet unborn, are here invoked to reclaim and participate, to the lateſt poſterity, in the honour of "*inventing*" fumigation with muriatic acid. Monuments, temples, mauſoleums, *were to have been* erected to the immortal memory of a Dr. James Johnſtone of Kidderminſter, had not the parſimonious ſpirit of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons refuſed, moſt ungenerouſly indeed, to beſtow the public money on this "benefactor of the human race." Unfortunately theſe pompous claims to public remuneration are, we are told, "now abandoned with *regret* indeed, but *without anger*." This, too, is an aſſertion without proof: if true, why charge the public with a five ſhilling volume only to repeat a family claim, the ſum of which was previouſly conceded, and to abuſe a brother phyſician, who has fortunately diſcovered *another* and more uſeful means of deſtroying contagion? In truth, our would-be Greek-mouthed author, who, as he exhauſts his ſtock of Greek quotations, proceeds to Latin, and in the progreſs of his work at length deſcends to the plain Engliſh monoſyllable "then," dreſſed indeed with all the archneſs of italics and ſmall capitals; ſhould have remembered in citing numerous Doctors, fathers, brothers, &c. that Πολλῶν ἰατρῶν εἴσοδός μ' ἀπώλεσεν. The appeal to Dr. Gregory for the production of his brother Edward's academical exerciſe under the *late* Dr. Hope, is an unfortunate ſpecimen of the conſultation of Doctors. This important document, this *ſuppoſed theſis*, that was to have proved and eſtabliſhed all the lofty honours of the family, the uſe of the mineral acid in 1779, is now, we learn from Dr. Gregory, *loſt!!* a proof of the curioſity it muſt have excited, and the

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importance in which it was held at that period. Notwithſtanding this, our author, with his uſual modeſty indeed, aſks Dr. Smyth to "give Dr. Edward credit for memory enough,"—for what? for all the experiments and diſcoveries he chooſes to *ſay* that he made above twenty-ſix years ago! We ſhall not inſult the good ſenſe of our readers with any analyſis or farther obſervations on this farrago: nor are we certain that it is worthy of an anſwer from Dr. Smyth, who has nobly conceded to his father all that he can juſtly require, namely, the merit of having applied the marine acid in 1756, long prior to the attempt of Guyton; but that ſuch application cannot in the leaſt detract from the diſcovery of nitrous acid fumigation, every one muſt admit. Yet our doughty champion of the Johnſtones is pleaſed to call Dr. Smyth an "impoſter," and a "plagiariſt" of Guyton! This learned Doctor is candid enough indeed to confeſs his diſgraceful ignorance of chemiſtry,* and does not heſitate to declare, ſpeaking on a chemical ſubject, that he prefers the obſervation of an old woman, (as ſuch perhaps highly reſpectable) to "the opinion of all the chemiſts in Europe!!" In a few lines more he inſinuates that he "*had*" ſome reſpect for "a Parliamentary Committee," but it is doubtful with him whether he now has. He alſo hints that his family would accept of no patronage from government, except that which tended to declare the father "an inventor:" but we truſt, for the common intereſt of our country, that the patronage of government, that is the nomination of public officers, will always be directed to more able hands. If Dr. Johnſtone's practice was ſucceſsful at Worceſter, he was of courſe rewarded by the "approbation of his employers," as his ſon elegantly denominates his father's patients: not ſo an active ſervant of the public under government; his ſucceſſes left him only the applauſe of talents and virtue, thoſe of Dr. J. the guineas of "his employers." Our Grecian Doctor informs us in his preface, that he has "*worked the ſubject agoniſtically:*" we believe it; as not a page occurs without groſs errors, inelegant language, weak or falſe arguments, and vapid expreſſions. If it be true that controverſy is the touchſtone of genius, "then," we have here only "baſe metal." Let Dr. John Johnſtone remember, if he underſtands Greek, Σοφὸς γάρ ἐϐδεῖς ὃς τὰ πάντα προσκόπει—he cannot be learned who errs in every thing.

The Revolutionary Plutarch, exhibiting the moſt diſtinguiſhed Characters, Literary, Military, and Political, in the recent Annals of the French Republic. The greater part from the original Information of a Gentleman reſident at Paris. Fourth Edition. 3 vols. 12mo. 18s. Murray. 1805.

THE ſucceſs of this work has fully juſtified our predictions reſpecting the rapidity of its circulation; and we truſt that our hopes alſo reſpecting the impreſſion which it was calculated to make have been fulfilled. The

* After aſſerting "that muriatic acid gas is at leaſt as uſeable as nitric," in fumigation, he adds, "as to the quantity of muriatic acid gas which can be borne without inconvenience in a given ſpace, I find that in an apartment containing 360 cubic feet, reſpiration is not diſturbed by the gas extricated from one ounce of ſalt by one ounce of ſulphuric acid." This is the whole of our author's original chemical experiments detailed in this octavo volume!

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preſent edition contains a new life—that of the Dutch patriot, Schimmelpenninck, which ſerves to complete the Revolutionary groupe. The author, however, leaves us to gueſs his profeſſion previous to the commencement of his revolutionary career. He was an attorney, of better talents than character. It is needleſs to add, that he is the ſervile tool of the Corſican uſurper.

Eſſay on Quackery and the dreadful Conſequences ariſing from taking adverti ſed Medicines, &c. &c. 8vo. Pp. 140. T. Clayton, Kingſton upon Hull; J. Cundee, London. 1805.

WE do not give the whole of the title-page, which is as verboſe as any Quack Doctor's Bill. As to the work itſelf, the object which the author profeſſes to have in view is highly commendable, and we wiſh that we could beſtow commendation on the execution. It is made up of ſcraps in proſe and verſe, collected from every quarter, and put together without attention to arrangement. But, had its merit been much higher than it is, had it attacked Quackery much more powerfully than it does, we are afraid that the evil is too deeply rooted in human nature to be extirpated. To obtain health, to preſerve life we have ſeen, we ſee every day, and are afraid ever ſhall ſee man believing in knavery and folly, and having recourſe to impoſſibility. Some legal arrangements might palliate the evil, but a radical cure is not to be expected. The crouds who are attracted by the following advertiſement, and hundreds of a ſimilar kind, and the ſums which are pocketed by the advertiſers, are a melancholy confirmation of this truth.

"The Solar Tincture combines the eſſential and occult virtues of all ſcorbutic vegetables, ready digeſted, concocted, purified, and reſolved into an elegant balſamic eſſence, pleaſing to the taſte, and grateful to the ſtomach. It flies immediately to the *heart*, whether internally or externally applied, blends and aſſimilates with the venal and arterial blood, which it generates, corrects, warms, purifies, animates, and impels through the whole ſyſtem. It cleanſes all the viſcera and glandular parts, particularly the lungs and kidneys; ſtimulates the fibres, whereby the gaſtric juice and digeſtion are promoted; diſſolves viſcid humours and expels infection. It exerts very conſiderable effects on the whole nervous ſyſtem, ſenſibly raiſes the pulſe, ſtrengthens the ſolids, and invigorates the animal ſpirits. It penetrates the mouths of the minuter veſſels, reſtores the natural perſpiration, and promotes all the fluid ſecretions; and is, in ſhort, *more* than a match for diſeaſe and DEATH!!!"

We are ſorry for the ſituation of the author, who ſays, "that his ſuffering under accumulated calamities did not permit him to pay that attention to the work which it required:" but had he not better have deferred his literary labours till his mind was more at eaſe; eſpecially as he is "engaged in a laborious profeſſion, on which his family is dependent for ſupport," for we are afraid that he will find the profeſſion of an author by no means a profitable one.

DIVINITY.

DIVINITY.

The limit to our Inquiries, with respect to the Nature and Attributes of the Deity. A Sermon, preached before the University of Cambridge, on Commencement Sunday, July 1, 1804. By George Law, D. D. Prebendary of Carliſle. 4to. Pr. 38. Faulder and Rivingtons, London; Deighton, Cambridge.

THIS diſcourſe, upon an important and delicate ſubject, is truly worthy of the very learned body before which it was delivered. It diſplays great depth of thought, cloſeneſs of reaſoning, and philoſophical accuracy. The limits of human knowledge are very correctly defined, and the boundaries of reaſon and of faith diſtinctly marked. To thoſe, among whom nearly the whole claſs of Socinians and Unitarians muſt be ranked, who, puffed with vanity, and proud of the vaſt exertions of the human mind, in purſuits adapted to its nature, make their own limited and finite comprehenſion the criterion and the ſtandard of their faith: To men of this deſcription, the leſſon conveyed in Dr. Law's moſt excellent ſermon, will impart moſt valuable and neceſſary inſtruction. "There are inquiries," ſays this eloquent divine, "which lie beyond the utmoſt ſtretch of our comprehenſion; and much perplexity and infidelity have been occaſioned, by a too curious inveſtigation of ſubjects which human reaſon in vain attempts to explore. Of this nature are many of the ſpeculations, which relate to the eſſence and attributes of the Deity. In theſe purſuits the limit of human knowledge is ſoon attained. When we would urge our reſearches farther, doubts and darkneſs intercept our view; nor can any efforts of genius and learning advance a ſingle ſtep beyond the revealed word of God." It is the proper province, then, of human reaſon, in matters of religion, to aſcertain what really is the word of God; and having once aſcertained *that*, there the taſk of *reaſon* is finiſhed, and the work of *faith* begins. But the pride of human reaſon makes it labour to extend its reſearches beyond the ſphere within which alone it is deſtined, by God, to act; and finding itſelf baffled in its efforts, from its comparatively narrow and circumſcribed powers, it becomes petulant, fretful, and rebellious, and unwilling to acknowledge its own inſufficiency, ſinks into infidelity, by refuſing its aſſent to every thing which it cannot comprehend. Yet, ſtill afraid to purſue its principle to its natural conſequences, it is betrayed into the moſt glaring inconſiſtency, by acknowledging the exiſtence of things both divine and human, which are equally incomprehenſible by the underſtanding of men, with thoſe proper objects of faith which it ſo obſtinately and impiouſly rejects. Dr. L. illuſtrates his general obſervation by three important examples. 1. The influence and operation of the Holy Spirit. 2. The compatability of man's liberty or free-will with the preſcience of God. 3. The doctrine of the Trinity. On all theſe ſubjects the preacher ſhews that the vain efforts to extend human reaſon beyond its allotted powers have given birth to much ſchiſm and infidelity. In his reflections on the firſt of them, he juſtly remarks, that no paſſages of Scripture, "when fairly interpreted, give any countenance to the opinion of thoſe, who pretend to a ſenſible experience of the ſpirit—an irreſiſtible impulſe—an immediate converſion: and who affect to point out the exact line of partition, between human efforts and divine illumination. Theſe doctrines are in the higheſt degree deceitful and dangerous. Reformation is the work of time, and not inſtantaneous;

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nor can the true Chriſtian, who knows that he is at beſt but an unprofitable ſervant, ever preſume to be confident, either of his future perſeverance, or final ſalvation. To prove the falſity, or at leaſt the uncertainty of theſe pretenſions, we need only appeal to the more ſober experience of many careful and conſcientious obſervers of what paſſes in their own minds. Theſe will acknowledge, that they have never been able to aſcertain, either the time, or the meaſure, or the mode of the operation of the ſpirit. Never then let it be ſuppoſed, that the knowledge of this præternatural inſpiration can be denied to the good and wiſe, but beſtowed, as, if we give credit to every pretenſion, might ſeem to be the caſe, upon the worſt and weakeſt of the ſons of men."

In purſuing his reflections on the ſecond of the above ſubjects, Dr. Law adverts to the inconſiſtency, which we before noticed, and thoſe who refuſe their aſſent to ſome things, becauſe they are incomprehenſible, and give it to others though equally incomprehenſible.

"That a Being of infinite power ſhould have exiſted from all eternity, is a propoſition which we ſee not only reaſon to believe, but an abſolute neceſſity for admitting, but which, nevertheleſs, we are totally unable to comprehend. Even the very terms by which theſe qualities are expreſſed, we can neither clearly conceive nor define. Infinity and eternity are ideas which elude our graſp, though we are not the leſs convinced that there muſt be a Being infinite and eternal. Theſe ſubjects, however, while they ſhew us the bounds which are ſet to the human underſtanding as at preſent conſtituted—the point at which our knowledge breaks off, at the ſame time elevate our views to a nobler ſtate of exiſtence, and form a principle of connection between man, and a ſuperior order of beings.

"But it is not in theſe ſpeculations alone that our knowledge is circumſcribed. All nature is full of myſteries. The moſt common incidents we only ceaſe to wonder at, becauſe frequency has rendered them familiar. The germination of ſeeds, the growth of plants, the generation of animals; theſe, and an infinite variety of ſimilar productions we can no otherwiſe explain, than by pointing out the fact. In ſhort, all our knowledge is acquired by experience. We ſhould judge, therefore, with proportionable reſerve of thoſe ſubjects, in which our experience is only indirect; and amongſt thoſe of the attributes of the Deity, known to us, ſo far as they are known, only in their effects. Knowledge ſo acquired cannot but be a partial knowledge, foraſmuch as a part only of theſe effects is ſubmitted to our obſervation.

"In ſome ſuppoſed incompatibility, however, between the liberty of man, and the foreknowledge of God, the foundation Calviniſm has been laid. According to which ſyſtem every thing is pre-ordained, and we are mere machines or inſtruments paſſive under the hand of God. The conſequences are, that Chriſt did not die for all, that he was not, as the Scriptures aſſure us he was, a propitiation for the ſins of the whole world. It follows alſo, that man is created to be neceſſarily wicked and miſerable, without any fault of his own; a doctrine which annihilates the diſtinction of blame or deſert, and with them, thoſe ſtrong arguments which natural religion ſuggeſts, in proof of a future ſtate of remuneration. If things be ſo, what muſt we think but that the God of all mercy is unmerciful, the God of all juſtice, unjuſt?"

A Sermon

A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Wormley, Herts, on Sunday the 10th of July, 1803. By the Rev. Thomas M'Culloch, Rector; which being peculiarly appropriate to the preſent Criſis, is publiſhed at the requeſt of his Audience. 8vo. Pp. 20. 1s. Hatchard.

WITH all due deference to the worthy pariſhioners of Wormley, we confeſs it appears to us that the ſermon before us is no more appropriate to the preſent Criſis, than to any other period, paſt or preſent. The apoſtolic exhortation to "Be of one mind," is equally applicable to Chriſtians in all times. In fact, this diſcourſe is both declamatory and obſcure; nor is it more conſpicuous for grammatical accuracy than for clearneſs of conception, or perſpicuity of arrangement. Two or three inſtances will ſuffice to juſtify this apparently ſevere ſentence.—"All theſe operations *worketh* [works] one of the ſame ſpirit," p. 7.—"Vanity *or* intereſt engage [engages] mankind," p. 8. In p. 11, we are told, "The eyes of a Chriſtian are fixed on no banner but the banner of the Croſs, till, by inceſſantly contemplating his Saviour's virtues, he is inclined to holineſs by *that natural pretensity* [which] *he poſſeſſes to imitation.*" Indeed! has the Chriſtian no higher motive to obey the precepts of his divine Redeemer? Does not this ſtrange imputation of his obedience to the *propenſity of imitation* reduce him to a level with the ape? We have not ſo read the Scriptures!—In the following page we are aſſured, that Chriſt "laid down his life for his *friends.*" Are *ſinners*, then the *friends* of Chriſt?

Mr. M'Culloch ſays that religious behaviour is the *ſource* of every moral virtue. But hereby the *exercise* of every moral virtue muſt be included in truly religious behaviour? One other proof of inaccuracy, and we have done. "We cannot, therefore, but *deprecate* with every prayer, with every amendment, with every nerve, *againſt* the progreſs of ſuch encroachment." P. 15.

The laſt paragraph is, beyond all compariſon, the beſt in the ſermon, both as to ſtyle and ſubſtance.

Britain's Duty in the Proſpect of a French Invaſion. A Sermon, preached Auguſt 11. 1803; *in the Pariſh Church of St. Mary-Le-Port, Briſtol, at the opening of a weekly Evening Lecture, on the Perils and Duties of the preſent times. Publiſhed by requeſt.* By the Rev. Richard Hart, A.M. Vicar of St. George's, Glouceſterſhire. 8vo. Pp. 24, 1s. Bulgen, Briſtol; Rivington's, London.

MR. Hart here expatiates, in emphatic terms, on the dangerous conſequences of ſin, and on the magnitude of the puniſhments which are denounced againſt thoſe impious and obdurate ſinners who "deſpiſe both the myſteries and the precepts of Revelation." The ſermon is written, at once with ſimplicity, and with energy.

A Sermon preached for the Benefit of the Charity School, at the Pariſh Church of Crediton, January 8; *and at the Chapel of Okehampton, June* 1, 1792. By the Rev. Rees Price, Vicar of Lamerton. 8vo. Pp. 16. Trewman, Exeter, 1803.

THIS is one of the ableſt Charity Sermons which we recollect to have read, as well in matter as in manner. The preacher takes an enlarged and liberal

liberal view of the effect of knowledge on the human mind, in order to enforce the neceſſity of inſtructing the poor. His arguments, on the ſubject, are preſſed with equal ingenuity and thought; and his reaſoning is alike creditable to him as a ſcholar and a Chriſtian. In his notes, he quotes Dr. Currie's Life of Burns, to ſhew the good conſequences which have reſulted in Scotland from the legiſlative eſtabliſhment of parochial ſchools. And, indeed, it is much to be wiſhed, that the legiſlature would pay more attention to ſimilar eſtabliſhments in this country; for it is high time that ſomething ſhould be done, when we ſee a moſt dangerous ſcholaſtic eſtabliſhment, ſuddenly, as it were, ariſing, in the vicinity of the metropolis, and threatening to ſpread its baleful effects over the whole land. Strange to ſay, the inſtitution to which we allude, though formed on a revolutionary plan, the dangers of which muſt be obvious, we ſhould think, to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, and *to the abſolute exclusion of all religion whatever*, has been patronized, not only by people of the firſt diſtinction, but by ROYALTY itſelf, and even by BISHOPS!!!—This ſubject, however, is of too much importance to be *incidentally* diſcuſſed. We propoſe to conſider it in our next number, more at large; to probe it to the very bottom, and not to quit it, until we have fully and completely ſtripped the hideous monſter of its maſk, and laid it, in all its naked deformity, before the public eye.

A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Gillingham, on Wednesday, October 19, 1803. *Being the Day appointed for a General Fast and Humiliation.* By William Chaſy, M.A. Chaplain to Lord Henniker, &c. 8vo. Pp. 30, 1s. 6d. Rivingtons.

THE multiplicity of ſingle ſermons which have been printed within the laſt three years, have unavoidably obliged us to delay our review of many of them; and thoſe by no means leſs able or meritorious than others which had the precedence. We ſhall ſtrive, however, to pay this debt to our readers with all practicable expedition.

Mr. Chaſy's Sermon, from the 5th v. of the 2d c. of Joel, contains much ſound doctrine, and many reaſonable admonitions, conveyed in good language, and in an eaſy and correct ſtyle. In adverting to the cauſe of our calamities, our national ſins, he emphatically calls on his hearers, to contemplate the ſurrounding ſcene.

"Look around you (would that I had not reaſon to make the remark) and you will ſee *vice ſtalking abroad, with ſhameleſs impudence at noon-day, uſurping the ſeat of virtue, encouraged in converſation, and countenanced in example.*"

Yes, they will ſee the moſt ſhameleſs adultreſs that the world ever produced, without the plea (ſuch as it is) of either youth or poverty, to palliate her ſin, inceſſantly braving public decency, in the moſt outrageous manner, and receiving, ſtrange to ſay, the homage, the baſe, the ſervile homage, of the *proudeſt* ſubjects, male & *female*, of our virtuous ſovereign: They will ſee, alſo, the ſpurious offſpring of elevated rank, careſſed, courted, obtruded upon public notice, introduced in the higheſt circles, and placed on a perfect level (in contempt alike of law, morals, and decency) with the legitimate progeny of chaſte, connubial love. They will ſee—but this ſubject would carry us far beyond our preſcribed bounds. Dropping, therefore, the delineation of this hideous picture, we return to our preacher, and purſue our quotation.

"You will ſee atheiſm and infidelity ſcoffing at religion, and rearing their creſts

creſts on the ſhrine of modern PHILOSOPHY, falſely ſo called. You will ſee the churches of God forſaken, his miniſters deſpiſed, his ſacraments rejected, his ordinances trampled under foot."

Unhappily there is but too much truth in this deſcription, and unleſs, repentance and reformation ſpeedily take place; there is no reaſon for ſuppoſing that this nation will not incur the vengeance of an offended God.

In a note to p. 25, of this Sermon, there is a well-written, and well-merited tribute to the talents and public virtues of Mr. Pitt.

EDUCATION.

Etymological Exercises on the Latin Grammar. In two parts. By the Rev. William Johns. 24mo. Pp. 50. Aſton, Manchester; Longman and Co. London. 1805.

PRACTICE is ſo much better than theory, that we are more inclined to take Mr. John's word, for the efficacy of his mode of expediting and facilitating the Knowledge of the Latin Language, (that is by theſe Etymological Exerciſes) founded on experience, than to truſt to our own judgment, from the mere peruſal of his book. But it is proper at the ſame time, to add, that the Exerciſes appear to us extremely well calculated to anſwer that purpoſe.

Exempla Erasmaniana or English Examples (for the Use of Beginners) to be turned into Latin according to the order of the rules in Erasmus's 'Compendium of the Latin Syntax' to which are added a few English Idiomatical expreſſions. By B. D. Free, A. M. 12mo. Pp. 188. Robinſon. 1805.

THESE examples have an advantage over the well-known Compendium of Eraſmus, inaſmuch as the rules are here inſcribed at length, and accompanied with an explanation. The rules alſo are intended to be committed to memory, ſo as to ſerve as a Syntax alſo. This is certainly an uſeful plan; and we also approve much of Mr. Free's caution in ſo arranging his examples as to oblige the ſcholar to have more frequent recourſe to his Dictionary (and conſequently to have greater neceſſity for mental exertion) than he is under the neceſſity of doing when employed in other exerciſes of a ſimilar nature.

Fables Ancient and Modern, adapted to the Use of Children from Three to Eight years of Age. By Edward Baldwin, Eſq. adorned with Seventy-three Copper-plates- 2. Vols. 12mo. Pp. 426. 8s. Hodgſons, at the Juvenile Libray, Hanway-ſtreet, Oxford-ſtreet.

THESE fables are unqueſtionedly written on a much better plan for making an impreſſion on, and for conveying uſeful inſtruction to the minds of thoſe infants for whoſe uſe they are deſigned, than any other fables which have fallen under our cognizance. The dry conciſeneſs, and abrupt terminations of other fables are judiciouſly avoided in theſe, which are told in a manner particularly well calculated to intereſt the feelings, and to amuſe the fancy, while they inform the mind of the child. But as an example is better than a thouſand obſervations, we ſhall extract the common fable of the Dog in the Manger, that our readers may be able to compare it with the ſame

fable

fable as uſually told, and from ſuch compariſon deduce the advantages of this new mode of narration.

" A naughty dog once went into a ſtable, and having looked about him, jumped into the manger, thinking that was a nice ſnug place for him to lie down and ſleep in. Preſently a little boy came into the ſtable, leading his papa's horſe, that had been ploughing a whole field, and was very tired and very hungry. Come out, poor fellow! ſaid the little boy to the dog, papa's horſe wants to eat ſome hay; but the naughty dog never ſtirred a bit; he only made up an ugly face, and ſnarled very much. The little boy went cloſe up to him, and endeavoured to take him out; but then the naughty dog barked and growled, and even tried to bite the little boy. The little boy was not big enough to manage ſuch an ill-natured cur; ſo he turned in the horſe and ſtood by to ſee what would happen. The horſe looked very hungry, and very tired, and put up his head to the rack to get a mouthful of hay; but the naughty dog ſnapped at the poor horſe's mouth. The horſe was very ſorry, and would have ſaid, Pray dog let me eat! if he had been able, but the naughty dog did not care. You ſilly dog, ſaid the little boy, hay is of no uſe to you, dogs do not eat hay, though horſes do; and if you ſtay there, you'll ſoon be as hungry as papa's horſe. So the dog ſtaid a long while, and by and by he grew hungry, and came to the little boy and begged for meat. Silly dog, ſays the little boy, if I were as naughty as you, I ſhould give you nothing to eat, as you prevented papa's horſe from eating. There is a plate of meat for you, and remember another time, that only naughty dogs, and naughty boys and girls, keep away from others what they cannot uſe themſelves."

Select Paſſages from various Authors, deſigned to form the minds and manners of Young Perſons; and at the ſame time to afford an agreeable Miſcellany for thoſe of riper Years. By the Author of the Hiſtory of Inſects, &c.

NUMEROUS as the books of this deſcription already are, ſtill it is no difficult matter for a perſon who reads much, and with judgment, to make ſuch a ſelection of paſſages, on different ſubjects of importance, as will be an acceptable preſent to youthful readers, and, indeed, to another claſs, who, though arrived at years of maturity, have infantine minds, and are at once too lazy and too ignorant to ſelect *Beauties* for themſelves. The preſent ſelection is certainly made with judgment, and with a ſtrict attention to the religious and moral principles of the young reader.

A Manual of Religious Knowledge, for the Uſe of Sunday Schools, and of the Poor in General. By the Rev. J. Grant. Second Edition, greatly enlarged. 18mo. Pp, 88. Haddock, Warrington; Hatchard, London; Jones, Liverpool.

A familiar Abridgement of the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, with a Catechiſm belonging to it: to which are added, Queſtions referring to the Hiſtory, Doctrines, and Precepts of the New Teſtament: for the Uſe of Charity and Sunday Schools, and of the Poor in general. By the Rev. J. Grant, Curate of Warrington. 18mo. Pp. 72.

THESE two tracts, which are bound together, contain much good and proper inſtructions for the frequenters of Sunday Schools. Indeed, if all the children who attend ſuch ſchools, are made converſant with the con-

tents of this book, they cannot fail to become good Chriſtians, and conſequently excellent men. The firſt tract contains the elements of Chriſtian Knowledge; and all the eſſential parts of a Chriſtian's duty; and the ſecond is a conciſe, plain, and judicious abridgement of the Bible.

NOVELS.

The Duelliſts; or Men of Honour: a Story, calculated to ſhew the Folly, Extravagance, and Sin of Duelling. By William Lucas. 1 vol. 12mo. Pp. 182. 3s. 6d. Cundee. 1805.

IN our number for September we noticed this excellent little volume: but by one of thoſe accidents which unavoidably occur in printing periodical publications, the *firſt ſentence* only of our account was inſerted; and as this ſentence implies more cenſure than praiſe, we, in juſtice to the author, reprint the article as it was originally written.

Any attempt to place the principles of human actions, whether good or bad, in a juſt light, muſt meet with the applauſe of all who wiſh to promote the welfare of mankind. The practice of duelling, which is nothing leſs than premeditated murder, has of late increaſed in an alarming degree: the peace and happineſs of families are daily deſtroyed by the influence of modern ſophiſtry, and the depravity of modern manners, while the admirable prin iples of the Chriſtian religion, which inculcate the forgiveneſs of injuries, are totally diſregarded, and men of every rank in life, ſeek the revenge of blood for the moſt contemptible of trifles.

It is remarkable that though many of the moſt able writers which England ever produced have exerted their talents to check the practice of duelling, yet their abilities have been diſplayed in vain; it is not, therefore, likely that a *fiction* will produce an effect for which innumerable moral eſſays, ſermons, &c. have been brought forward in vain. But the author of the abovementioned tale deſerves every praiſe for his laudable attempt, which, though it cannot be expected to prevent the vice, may tend to check the propenſity for committing it. The ſtory is intereſting, and abounds with pointed references to ſcripture.

THE DRAMA.

A Prior Claim: a Comedy, in Five Acts. By Henry James Pye, and Samuel James Arnold. 8vo. Pp. 68. 2s. 6d. Ridgway. 1803.

THE wild extravagance of which moſt dramatic productions have been characterized, for ſeveral years, has gradually tended to corrupt the public taſte, and to throw increaſed difficulty in the way of thoſe authors who wiſh to found their productions on ſuch rules as have long been conſidered as the eſſential conſtituents of legitimate comedy. A compoſition founded on thoſe rules is likely at preſent to appear tame and lifeleſs, in compariſon with the *daſhing ſpirit*, as it is termed, of moſt comedies of theſe times. The work before us is, however, governed by the principles which have received the ſanction of example among our moſt approved writers. The ſtory is intereſting, and it is well conducted. It has, in fact, a proper beginning,

beginning, middle, and termination. *The Prior Claim* reſts upon a promiſe which Sir William Freeman had given to Colonel Raymond of his daughter Maria's hand, as ſoon as the Colonel returned to this country from his ſervice in India. During the Colonel's abſence, Maria, who was very young when Raymond left England, and who had only thought of him in compliance with her father's wiſhes, had conceived an attachment to Henry Mortimer, another Britiſh officer. As Colonel Raymond was ſtated to have fallen in the action at Seringapatam, Sir William Freeman of courſe conſiders himſelf as entitled to beſtow his daughter's hand wherever her heart may direct. The play opens with the approaching nuptials of Henry Mortimer and Miſs Freeman. It appears that the account of Raymond's death was erroneous. He ſoon makes his appearance, and demands the fulfilment of Sir William Freeman's promiſe. This impediment to the marriage may be conſidered as a legitimate middle to the fable. At length Raymond reflects upon the impropriety of marrying a woman whoſe affections are engaged to another, and generouſly reſolves to forego his *prior claim*, that the lovers may be happy. The piece of courſe ends with this reſolution, but the cataſtrophe is ſhewn by the *grouping of the characters* in the laſt ſcene, according to the practice of Kotzebue and other German dramatiſts, a meaſure which we are ſorry to ſee adopted by the author, or rather authors, of the preſent work, who are avowedly Mr. Pye, the Poet Laureat, and his ſon in law Mr. Arnold. The ſerious parts of this comedy are relieved by the introduction of an Iriſh ſerjeant, an honeſt Scotchman, a Bond ſtreet lounger, and an Engliſh ruſtic. The ſentiments of this play are characterized by pure morality, and genuine pathos. The language is terſe and pointed. It muſt however be acknowledged, that much of the dialogue gives the play rather the form of a dramatic novel than of a piece intended for the buſtle, ſpirit, and variety, neceſſary in theatrical repreſentation. Loyal paſſages are introduced as often as opportunity would admit, and the play altogether is creditable to the allegiance and patriotiſm, as well as to the feelings and judgment of the confederate authors.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

I HAVE been a conſtant reader of your Miſcellany ſince its commencement; and I have generally read it with great ſatisfaction. Of late, however, I think I have obſerved a ſlovenlineſs in the compoſition of ſome of your articles; and, which is of more importance, an occaſional dereliction of your avowed principles. What, for inſtance, give me leave to aſk, could induce you take part in the diſputes which have long divided the Church of Scotland, and which have of late found their way into the Univerſity of Edinburgh; whether to the honor of that learned body, time will ſhew? If the miniſters of Edinburgh acted irregularly in their oppoſition to the election of Mr. Leſlie to the mathematical profeſſorſhip (and that they did, you cannot be more firmly convinced than I am), are you ſure that a charge of irregularity could not likewiſe be brought againſt the conduct of their opponents? If the miniſters were influenced by the *eſprit du corps* to patronize Mr. Macknight; are you ſure that thoſe were influenced by a *purer ſpirit* who patronized Mr. Leſlie? Mr. Stewart has, in-

deed, told a tale that muſt be plauſible to *ſuperficial thinkers*; and you have contributed to the circulation of that tale by the partial account of it in your laſt Number; but how long has the admirer of TURGOT, Condorcet, and D'Alembert had ſuch authority with the Anti-Jacobin Reviewers, that on his ſingle teſtimony, they ſhould condemn, unheard, as reſpectable a body of clergymen as is to be found in any one city in the Britiſh empire?

I am, Sir, no miniſter of Edinburgh; I am no profeſſor in the Univerſity of that city; and I was no member of the laſt general aſſembly of the Church of Scotland. I have ſeen Mr. Stewart once, Mr. Leſlie twice, and Mr. Macknight not at all; and I have no undue partiality to any one of them, in preference to any other. I feel, however, that I have ſome partiality to the cauſe of truth, of order and of religion; and *that* partiality, if ſuch it muſt be called, compels me to ſay, that the preſbytery of Edinburgh was imperiouſly called upon by duty to take the ſteps which it *firſt* took, to prevent the appointment of Mr. Leſlie to the vacant profeſſorſhip. I think, indeed, that the majority of that reverend body ſhould have ſtopt their proceedings, when they received, through the hands of the Profeſſor of Divinity, Mr. Leſlie's letter explanatory of the note, to which they juſtly objected; but if without receiving any ſuch explanation, they had NOT oppoſed his appointment to the chair, vacant in the Univerſity, they would have been falſe to the truſt repoſed in them by God and their country.

Your reviewer, indeed, is pleaſed to ſay (p. 129.) that the preſbytery of Edinburgh interfered "on the ground of certain metaphyſical notions incorporated, as they pretended, with the national creed;" but he knows well, if he knows any thing of the matter, that the notions to which they objected, are incorporated with *no creed*. They objected to Mr. Leſlie's *unqualified* recommendation of Mr. Hume's *Eſſay on neceſſary Connection*; an eſſay which they thought, as I believe all men of competent judgment had thought before them, leads to *Atheiſm*, and of conſequence to the abolition of *all* religious creeds. Mr. Stewart contends that they had *no reaſon* to make this objection; and labours to prove that Mr. Leſlie could not be *ſuppoſed* to extend his recommendation of Hume's eſſay farther than to the relation between *phyſical* cauſes and effects; but I have no heſitation to ſay, that Mr. Stewart's *proofs* are contemptible ſophiſtry. Mr. Leſlie ſays that Mr. Hume is the *firſt*, as far as he knows, who has treated cauſation in a truly philoſophical manner; and that his eſſay on neceſſary connexion ſeems a clear model of accurate reaſoning; but if Mr. Leſlie does not know that Mr. Hume is *not* the firſt who taught that the relation between phyſical cauſes and effects is not neceſſary, he is very ill qualified to occupy the chair of the late Dr. Robiſon. The miniſters of Edinburgh had therefore reaſon to believe, that Mr. Leſlie meant to recommend the whole of Mr. Hume's doctrine of cauſation—*metaphyſical* as well as *phyſical*; and they could not be ignorant that Mr. Hume has endeavoured to prove that we have no idea of connexion or *power* at all; that theſe words are abſolutely *without any meaning*, "when employed either in philoſophical reaſonings or in common life;" of courſe, that it is impoſſible to infer, not this or that *particular* cauſe, but *any* cauſe from witneſſing an event; and that even a thing may *begin to be without a cauſe!*

Surely you will admit that the miniſters of Edinburgh had reaſon to be alarmed at the proſpect of ſuch doctrines as thoſe being taught from a profeſſional chair, in their Univerſity; as well as that Mr. Stewart arrogates too much importance to himſelf, when he treats the alarm of *ſuch men* ſo excited,

cited, with contemptuous arrogance. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the oppoſition of thoſe miniſters, after Mr. Leſlie had explained his principles, was very improper; but that there was intriguing among them, as your reviewer inſinuates, I do not believe, though it is very generally believed that there was intriguing among their opponents.

But, ſays the reviewer, "the diſcovery of the dangerous tendency of the note was made only a day or two before the election!" This, were it true, would indeed be a ſuſpicious circumſtance; but it cannot be. No man accuſtomed to ſuch ſpeculations can read the note with attention and entertain a doubt of its tendency. In this remote place at leaſt, I never heard but one opinion expreſſed of its tendency; that opinion I adopted as ſoon as I had read the note: and as I do not ſupppoſe the perſpicuity of the miniſters of Edinburgh to be inferior to mine, I take it for granted that my opinion was not more early formed than their's. The profeſſor is pleaſed indeed to treat them, and all who think with them on this important ſubject, as children; but I am not diſpoſed to be overawed either by a popular name or by confident aſſertions; and if I ſhall ever be induced to alter my preſent opinion, it will be by reaſonings very different from any thing that I have found in this arrogant pamphlet.

I will not ſay, Sir, that your Review of the *Short Statement of Facts*, &c. was tranſmitted to you from Edinburgh; but I have leave to think that you received it from a violent party-man; becauſe none but a party-man could have ſaid that the ſpirit of the miniſters was immediately ſubdued by the general voice of the Church and the nation." The wonderful union of *high Calvinism* with *modern philoſophy*, ſupported by the influence of the Earl of Lauderdale, and the eloquence of ſome other orators, did indeed procure the ſmall majority of *nine*, in the general aſſembly, to paſs a tacit cenſure on the opponents of Mr. Leſlie; but when you are informed that the preſident of our Supreme Court, with another judge, who is an ornament to the bench on which he ſits, were in the minority on that day, and that there were no other judges preſent on that day, you will probably be of opinion that Mr. Leſlie and his friend have no cauſe to triumph in a victory ſo gained. Had they enjoyed that victory, however, with moderation, I believe that there is not a man in Scotland, except thoſe immediately concerned in the conteſt, who would have regretted the iſſue of that conteſt; becauſe the explanation ſo often alluded to, is all the reparation that Mr. Leſlie could make for the offence that he had very generally given. But when the party exulting in its ſucceſs, contrives to puſh on to a *ſecond* and *third edition*, a pamphlet, which is diſtinguiſhed by nothing but violence, pride, and ſophiſtry; and when the ſame party has publiſhed, with what fairneſs I have no opportunity of judging, the debates on the queſtion in the general aſſembly; it is impoſſible to be without ſome dread, that this triumph of philoſophy over religion may be followed with conſequences, that none of the philoſophers are yet prepared to avow. I hope, Sir, that you will give us an account of thoſe important debates in ſome future Number of your uſeful Journal; that you will again review the *whole* controverſy; and that you will employ ſome of your own countrymen to write the review, as almoſt every Scotchman is enliſted under the banner of the one party or the other.

In the mean time, I beg leave to inform you, that a rumour—I know not of what authority—has reached us, that one of the miniſters of Edinburgh has in the preſs *an answer* to Mr. Stewart's Short Statement of Facts. This, I think, is extremely probable; and therefore, you will do well to defer

your

your review of the debates till the appearance of that anſwer, that you may have the whole controverſy at once, before you.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

Aberdeen, Nov. 20th 1805. A LOOKER-ON.

MR. RILAND AND THE QUERIST.

London, November 19, 1805.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

IT is foreign to my purpoſe to attempt a formal exculpation of Mr. Riland, from the indirect accuſations of the Queriſt in your Number for September. If any refutation of theſe be judged requiſite, it may, I preſume, be ſafely left to the Warwickſhire Clergyman and the Pariſhioner, (ſee the Anti-Jacobin Review for May, page 104 to 109), whoſe local advantages ſupply them with authentic means of information. The preſent writer's object refers ſolely to that portion of the Queriſt's communication which concerns the implied generoſity of Mr. Riland's late brother.—It appears from a later edition of Dugdale's Warwickſhire, that the living of Sutton Coldfield came into the preſent poſſeſſor's family in the year 1689; and I conclude, that the perpetual advowſon and right of preſentation thereto was afterwards purchaſed by them, as John Riland, the firſt incumbent of that name, left the ſame, by will dated July 14, 1720, to his ſon. The teſtator's ſon, by will dated Feb. 17, 1747, deviſed the ſame to his elder ſon Richard Biſſe, R. the *late* rector, and in caſe he died without iſſue male living at the time of his deceaſe, *then* to his younger ſon John, the *preſent* rector. Richard died without iſſue male.

The above I give on the authority of written documents, open in the proper offices, for the inſpection of all who chuſe to examine for themſelves. Now what can the Queriſt poſſibly mean by Richard's ſuppoſed generoſity in leaving to John the inheritance of his fathers,—his own actual birthright?

I am, Sir, your obedient ſervant,

P. P. D.

REV. MR. MARSH'S VINDICATION OF HIMSELF.

Long Critchill, near Sarum, Nov. 23, 1805.

TO THE EDITORS.

SIRS,

SINCE you have (*inadvertently*, I hope, for charity dictates this hope to me) admitted into a late Review, a critique, on which one cannot but pronounce on the face of it, that *some enemy hath done this*, I truſt that you will, at my ſuggeſtion, and as the beſt thing which can be done under the preſent exiſting circumſtances, evince at leaſt a *diſpoſition* to counteract the ill effects of it, by inſerting in your next number, this my letter, and that which accompanies it. The latter is from my dioceſan, and conſtituted a part of my defence.

My Pamphlet was not ſold, but given; and the diſtribution thereof was, you will recollect, profeſſed to be confined to the Subſcribers to the works of my late friend and predeceſſor, and to the Clergy of the county of Dorſet.

ſet. Under this circumſcribed circulation, it therefore the more behoves you, who ſtand highly reſpectable as Reviewers, to comply with this, my reaſonable requeſt.

You may rely upon me when I declare that, the whole impediment to the late minor's ſucceſſion to the preferment which I ſtill hold for him, is ſolely with himſelf: that ſo far am I from having contributed to his failure, that I declare to God I have done every thing in my power, as the holder of preferment for a minor, under the Church of England, to accelerate his poſſeſſion: that he is welcome, as long as he ſhall be ſo unfortunate as to be kept back from the poſſeſſion, to a reaſonable ſhare of the profits; and this he knows experimentally, and has acknowledged gratefully:—and laſtly, I declare that, whenever, after he has ſatisfied the dioceſan of his qualification for the ſucceſſion, and ſhall have obtained from his lordſhip letters of inſtitution (which I have put it totally out of my power ever to prevent, by having delivered in my reſignation in his favour ſo long ago as on the ſeventh of October, 1803) he will always find me ready, notwithſtanding the cenſures which have been paſſed on my conduct, to give him induction; and that with full as much cheerfulneſs as I ever came forward to be myſelf inducted.

I am, Sirs, your humble ſervant,

GEORGE MARSH.

A letter from the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Briſtol.

Dated Brighton, Dec. 19, 1804.

REVEREND SIR,

Your two letters of the 10th and 16th inſt. came to me here by yeſterday's poſt, which will explain to you the cauſe of my ſilence.

If you think I can in the leaſt heal your wounded feelings by the following declaration, you have my leave to make it public in any way you pleaſe:—that your conduct has been perfectly honourable in itſelf, and ſatisfactory to me, in the whole of the tranſaction to which you allude: that no repreſentation of yours has had the leaſt influence whatever in the line I purſued reſpecting Mr. Sturt; and that I am at any time ready, but, from feelings of delicacy towards Mr. Sturt and his family, unwilling, to declare the motives which alone guided me in the conduct I felt it my duty to adopt.

I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your's moſt faithfully,

G. BRISTOL.

P. S. I have not the ſlighteſt objection to Mr. Porter's* allowing his letter (which I have ſeen this morning) to be publiſhed.

To the Rev. G. Marsh, Long Critchill, Sarum.

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* His Lordſhip's Secretary; who, in the letter alluded to, declared it as his opinion (and no one is more competent to judge on a buſineſs of this kind) that my conduct was (to uſe his own words) *moſt truly honourable.*

POETRY

POETRY.

EPIGRAMS.

Papal Allocution.

"Bleſſed Nap," ſaid the Pope, to his brethren around,
"In him the *true* Church a *true* Patron has found,"
This appears the grand upſhot of all his reſearches—
And the Patron, we'll own, is as TRUE as the Church is.

The Same.

Infallible Pius proteſts he was happy
A forced viſit to make to *invincible* Nappy,
But, it ſeems, this *infallible* Emperor-maker
Had contriv'd to forget our atchievement at Acre,
'Bout invincible Nap when he made ſuch a pother—
So theſe epithets prove—*one as juſt as the other.**

TOM T'WHIG'EM.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AT length, thanks to that Almighty Power, who can abaſe the proud, and exalt the humble, at his pleaſure, who is the God of armies and the diſpenſer of victories, the tide of ſucceſs is turned, and we are allowed to entertain a rational hope that Europe will be reſcued from that degrading yoke, under which it has laboured for the laſt ſeven years. The Powers of the Continent *are* rouzed to a juſt ſenſe of their common danger, and ſome of them, at leaſt, *have* proportioned their efforts to its obvious extent. The low-born miſcreant, who, after having uſurped the throne of his ſovereign, and his benefactor, cemented it with the blood of his family, and of his moſt loyal ſubjects, had become the *bully* of Europe, tyranniſing, with impudence boundleſs as his ſway, over all lawful monarchs, erecting new kingdoms by his nod, and threatening every prince with deſtruction who did not kiſs the rod uplifted to chaſtiſe him, is checked in his career of infamy, and deſtined to chew the cud of foiled ambition, and diſappointed malice. The day of retribution, though tardy in its arrival, is come at laſt; and civilized ſociety, we truſt, is about to be ſignally and glorioufly revenged, for all the evils, which this vile uſurper, this living peſtilence, this ſcourge of mankind, abhorred by all the good and honourable of every ſtate

* In his Holineſs's *infallible* account to his Cardinals of his late diſgraceful journey to France, he ſpeaks of the *moſt puiſſant, most excellent*, and *moſt generous* of Emperors, as one "whom God has choſen to reſtore his *true* religion in France!" And on parting from him he ſays, "Having fulfilled our *duty* towards the *invincible* Emperor, we commenced our journey, &c." I earneſtly call upon all real Chriſtians to join me in prayers to the Almighty, that this man of pretended infallibility may become ſtill more and more a falſe prophet with reſpect to this his laſt ſycophantic expreſſion.

(though impiouſly conſecrated by the Pope, with a ſervility that will render the name of his Holineſs an object of execration to the lateſt poſterity), has laviſhed upon it, with a profuſion of which the annals of hiſtory preſent not one ſolitary example.

Scarcely had the unparalleled victory of our heroic Nelſon been celebrated, when a rival hero, as if emulous of his name, in all the ardor of youth, in all the pride of honour, animated by the pure ſpirit of genuine patriotiſm, ſtands forth the noble champion, the generous avenger, of the violated rights of oppreſſed, inſulted, degraded Europe. Words are poor, inadequate, indeed, to convey to our readers a full and complete notion of the profound reſpect, and enthuſiaſtic admiration, which we feel for that illuſtrious, and magnanimous Prince, the Emperor ALEXANDER. It would require the tranſcendant genius, and the incomparable pen, of BURKE to do juſtice to the ſubject! Were it permitted to departed ſpirits to reviſit earthly ſcenes, how would *the ſage of Beaconsfield* exult in the contemplation of this glorious ſtruggle; at beholding that happy combination of princes and of ſtateſmen which all his brilliant eloquence was in vain exerted to produce againſt the regicidal tyrants of the world, at length, moſt happily, accompliſhed; at ſeeing that inglorious and pernicious ſyſtem of *defenſive warfare*, which his enlightened mind knew ſo well to appreciate, and all the dangers of which he ſo warmly depicted, and ſo feelingly deplored *, abandoned for a regular, well-digeſted plan of offenſive hoſtility, conceived with wiſdom, and executed with vigour! It is a ſight not more novel, than inſpiriting, to ſee a youthful monarch, cradled in the lap of peace, in power unlimited, in dominion boundleſs, in ſituation remote from the ſcene of danger, rich in reſources to repel it whenever it ſhould approach him, voluntarily foregoing eaſe and tranquillity to interfere in the concerns of contemporary ſovereigns; not to diſpute their titles; not to invade their privileges; not to encroach upon their territories, but for the diſintereſted, the noble, the magnanimous purpoſe, of aſſiſting them in the defence of their juſt rights, in ſupport of their independence, and in reſiſtance of the moſt formidable, and the moſt malignant enemy by which they ever were aſſailed. Nor muſt it be forgotten, that, with a degree of wiſdom ſuperior to his years, the Ruſſian Emperor has duly eſtimated the *conſequences* of the domineering ſpirit, and gigantic ſchemes of that "Child and champion of Jacobiniſm," who ſeeks to attain the *end* of the Fourteenth Louis, though by different *means*, and to eſtabliſh *univerſal empire*, by the ſubverſion of every exiſting throne: Nor is this all; in council moderate, as intrepid in the field, *this* SAGE *and* HERO *of the* NORTH, after ingenuouſly and fully diſclaiming, in the face of the world, all views of ambition, and all projects of aggrandizement, moſt generouſly devotes his own ſacred perſon to the great cauſe which he brings his armies to promote. Expoſing himſelf to all the dangers of the battle, and bent on victory or death, he flies from rank to rank, and, alike by exhortation and example, animates his men to the moſt heroic atchievements, to exertions of proweſs and to efforts of courage, beyond which the finite powers of man cannot reach. Faint, and feeble, alas! is this outline of the picture which is ſtrongly impreſſed on *our* mind, and, we doubt not, on the mind of every man in Europe, who views with attention

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* In a letter addreſſed to the writer of this article, a ſhort time previous to his death.

the mighty events now paſſing in the great theatre of the world. Proud, indeed, muſt the people of Ruſſia be to poſſeſs ſuch a ſovereign, and, bleſſed as we are with a ſovereign, who is the great exemplar of every virtue, could any thing induce us to quit our native land, it would be the wiſh to become the ſubject of ſuch a prince!

The deſperate actions fought, from the *first* to the *fifth* of December, in the country lying between Brunn and Olmutz, are important alike from their nature and reſult. They have taught the French ſoldiers, by dear-bought experience, that the Ruſſians are not that horde of barbarous and undiſciplined ſavages, nor their ſovereign that indolent and effeminate character, which their own unprincipled and ferocious tyrant, the prince of liars, had led them to believe. Europe has ſeen, the very flower of the French troops, the Corſican's body guard, the boaſted *Invincibles*, oppoſed hand to hand, even by a body of Ruſſian huſſars diſmounted (who, encumbered with boots and heavy accoutrements, muſt, of neceſſity, fight to great diſadvantage), by whom they were totally defeated, and nearly cut to pieces. It has ſeen alſo, the moſt ſucceſsful general of the age, who (forgetting, indeed, both *Acre* and *Marengo* *), preſumptuouſly boaſted of *having chained fortune to his car*, trained to arms from his infancy, and a veteran in the field, having paſſed nearly the whole of his manhood to the preſent hour in camps; foiled, beaten, and diſgraced by a youthful monarch, who commanded an army, for the firſt time, and who had never before been preſent at a battle. The conſequence of ſuch a victory muſt be moſt important; the eyes of Europe are opened; the French are no longer deemed invincible; and in proportion as their ſpirits muſt be depreſſed by unexpected defeat, muſt thoſe of their opponents be raiſed by ſucceſs. Aſſuming then the accounts of this hard-fought conflict as *ſubſtantially* true; we conſider the affairs of the allies as in a moſt proſperous ſtate. The third Ruſſian army, as far as we can judge from the vague reports received from the Continent, muſt have joined the Emperor very ſhortly after the fifth of December. Prince Ferdinand, too, with a body of 30,000 men, might effect a junction with the allied force in leſs than ſix days. Thus, admitting, the grand army to have conſiſted of 85,000 men, before the late actions, and to have loſt 25,000, in the courſe of them, and taking the third Ruſſian army, under Michelſon, at 45,000, there would be a concentrated force of 135,000 men, flushed with ſucceſs, and headed by their reſpective Emperors, to oppoſe Buonaparté in front, ſhould he perſiſt in retaining his preſent poſition, and in keeping poſſeſſion of Vienna. Suppoſing, on the other hand, the French army to have amounted to 100,000 men, on the 1ſt of December, and eſtimating their loſs in the ſubſequent actions at 30,000, it could not be reinforced before the *tenth*, by more than 40,000 (unleſs the accounts of the force of its different diviſions is groſsly incorrect), which would give them no more than an aggregate of 110,000 men. The allies, then, muſt have a decided ſuperiority of force, with which (we know, from experience) they would not fail to preſs forward, and ſhould the enemy ſtand the chance of another battle, ſooner than abandon the Auſtrian capital, we are allowed, from the recent exploits of the allies, to entertain the moſt ſanguine expectations, to form the moſt happy preſages of the reſult. Vanity and

* It ſhould never be forgotten that Buonaparté had loſt the battle of Marengo, and had actually founded the retreat, when Deſaix, by a ſkilful and judicious manœuvre, retrieved the fortune of the day.

prudence

prudence will, on this occaſion, be oppoſed to each other in the mind of the Corſican. Hitherto the former has exerciſed a boundleſs ſway in that dark and diſmal domain; and ſhould it ſtill retain its wonted influence, another battle will be fought, ere Vienna will be relinquiſhed. He will be farther ſtimulated to make this deſperate effort, by another powerful motive: in the plenitude of his inſolence, the vain and arrogant deſpot has pledged himſelf to his ſlaves, and to the world, to *dictate peace*, before Chriſtmas, in that very capital; and he knows how much his conſequence muſt be diminiſhed in the eyes both of France and of Europe, if he forfeit his pledge; nor is he ignorant that the diminution of his conſequence may eventually have a material effect on the ſtrength and durability of his power. He abſurdly imagines, too, that one ſignal defeat of the allies will be the certain means of producing an immediate termination to the war. For neither their conduct, after their partial defeat, and heavy loſs, in the firſt action of the ſecond of December, nor yet the repeated declarations of both the Emperors, will ſuffice to convince this headſtrong tyrant, that they will never conſent to a baſe, inglorious, or inſecure peace.

But ſhould Prudence for once prevail over Vanity, he will evacuate Vienna, and perhaps endeavour to effect a junction with Maſſena, who has probably left Italy, with a conſiderable part of his army; and by this movement, he may hope to place the Archduke Charles (who by a diſplay of the moſt conſummate ſkill united with the moſt determined bravery, has effected his retreat from Italy, and left Maſſena far behind him) between two fires. But in this he would certainly be miſtaken; that great General would either turn to his right from *Clagenfurth*, and enter Hungary, where a brave and loyal people would flock to his ſtandard, in almoſt countleſs numbers, or purſuing his route to Vienna, overthowing every weak diviſion of the enemy on his paſſage, preſent himſelf in front of Buonaparté, while the Ruſſian and Auſtrian Emperors preſſed hard upon his rear; ſo that the Corſican would be placed between two fires himſelf; and poſſibly cruſhed long before Maſſena could come to his aſſiſtance. Should he direct his retreat towards the Rhine, the Grand Army of the Allies would purſue him; while the whole country, through which he muſt paſs, irritated by his cruelties and extortions, would not fail to harraſs him on his march, and he would with great difficulty, and with greater loſs, reach the frontier of France.

In this view of the preſent ſtate of the Belligerent Powers on the Continent we ſee nothing but of the moſt conſolatory nature. But we have here only oppoſed Ruſſia and Auſtria to France. How much then muſt the proſpect be improved, when we take into our eſtimate, the Swediſh and Britiſh troops, which will ſoon be in a ſituation to take an active part againſt the Uſurper. And if, in addition to this acceſſion of ſtrength, the King of Pruſſia ſhould realize the hopes which he has raiſed, and enter the field, with his allies of Saxony, and Heſſe Caſſel, the wily Corſican will be taken in his own ſnares, his retreat will be cut off, and his whole army be as much annihilated as that of General Mack. If Pruſſia act at all, ſhe will no doubt act with promptneſs and deciſion; the ſituation of her army will enable her to place herſelf between the Rhine and Vienna, long before Buonaparté can have reached the former, ſhould he be as quick, as we are perſuaded he will be tardy, in the evacuation of Vienna. Preſſed by the Pruſſians in front, by the Ruſſians and Auſtrians in the rear, and flanked by the Archduke Charles, we ſee no poſſibility of his eſcape. If the ſame ſpirit

which

which animates the ſoul of Alexander, deſtined, we hope, to be the ſaviour of Europe, actuate his Imperial and Royal Allies, the tyrant's bloody career is nearly run. At all events, nothing is at at this moment, to be feared from his *arms*; but much, very much, from his *arts* and *intrigues*. We are convinced that the miniſterial and diplomatic banditti that follow the the wily Corſican's camp, to aſſiſt him in the fabrication of his lying manifeſtoes, and his *poetical* bulletins, will exert every effort to betray the allies into a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and (ſhould the King of Pruſſia declare himſelf) will, we doubt not, profeſs to conſent to *his* terms in order to gain time, and to extricate himſelf from his perilous ſituation. To *him* terms are of little conſequence, as he will treat them with contempt (as he always has done) the moment he is in a condition to violate them with impunity, unleſs the moſt ample and ſolid ſecurity be exacted for their fulfilment. The allies will have it now in their power to dictate the terms of peace, and to reſtore the balance of power: let them defeat Buonaparté, deſtroy his army, and cut off his retreat, they may replace Europe in ſomething like its former ſtate. If they cannot reſtore the Bourbons (" a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed") nor yet the balance of power ſuch as it was before the French revolution, they may nevertheleſs abridge the French limits, and, inſtead of leaving her, as at preſent, ſurrounded by petty and tributary ſtates, the tools of her power, and the panders to her will, give her for immediate neighbours potent monarchs, able and willing to reſiſt her encroachments, to reſent her injuries, and to repel her aggreſſions. This and this only, will ſecure the peace of Europe on any thing like a ſolid and permanent baſis. But if the allied powers ſuffer the preſent opportunity to eſcape them for the accompliſhment of this deſirable purpoſe, long, very long, it may be, ere it will return; and, poſſibly it may *never* return. The period, therefore, is critical, is awful, beyond all common calculation.

Another fear we confeſs, preſſes on our minds. The Corſican Ruffian has proved himſelf not only the *Prince of Liars*, but the *Prince of Aſſaſſins*; the old revolutionary Regiment of Regicides may again be eſtabliſhed; and the bowls or the daggers of the murderers of the gallant, the virtuous *D'Enghien*, may be employed, with ſucceſs, againſt thoſe Royal Perſonages who are now leading their armies to the field, to check the ambition and to puniſh the perfidy of this deteſted Uſurper. We truſt, however, that warned by fatal experience, they will be on their guard.

To one of the old jacobinical reſources Buonaparté has, conſiſtently enough, already had recourſe; he has laboured to produce a diverſion on the Continent, by ſending his truſty Commiſſaries to produce a revolution in Poland; a plan firſt deviſed by his worthy predeceſſor Maximilian Robeſpierre; but without relaxing in their operations againſt him, the Ruſſian and Pruſſian Monarchs have troops enough at their command to cruſh any ſuch attempt in its infancy, ſo that this reſource will prove but of little avail.

Before we diſmiſs this brief view of the preſent political ſtate of the European Continent, we muſt ſay a word or two on the diſaſtrous events which marked the opening of the preſent campaign. The diſgraceful capitulation of General Mack has been aſcribed (in a new Paper,* conducted with conſiderable ability, and on excellent principles), to his obſtinate

* Mr. Redhead Yorke's Weekly Political Review.

adherence

adherence to the old ſyſtem of tactics. That this reduced him to the ſituation in which he ſtood previous to the capitulation, we are not diſpoſed to deny; but that being ſo reduced, he ſhould conſider his capitulation as a matter of courſe, we can by no means admit. The firſt thing which any General, either of the old or the new ſchool, ſo ſituated, would do, would, certainly, be to examine whether there were any poſſible means of effecting his eſcape, and, if not, to calculate, with preciſion, the time for which he would be able to hold out againſt the enemy. The military hiſtory of all paſt times proves that ſuch was the courſe purſued by every General who was placed, either by ignorance or by accident, in ſuch unfortunate circumſtances. But Mack did nothing of the kind; on the contrary, he ſeems only to have ſtudied the means of accelerating the ſurrender of his army; even when preſſed, in the moſt urgent manner, by the Archduke Ferdinand, to cut his way through the enemy's ranks, a meaſure ſanctioned by the well-known opinion of one of the greateſt Generals of the laſt century, (who maintained that with 40,000 men—and Mack, at that time, had conſiderably more under his orders—an able commander might make his way through any force), he obſtinately refuſed to make the attempt, and perſiſted in his determination to ſurrender his whole force to the enemy. Here then did the criminal conduct of Mack begin; and his criminality was completed by his baſe compliance with the requeſt of the enemy, that he would lay down his arms two days before the time ſtipulated in the act of capitulation itſelf; though he could not but know, that the enemy muſt have ſome powerful motive for urging this requeſt, and that his compliance with it muſt forward their deſigns againſt his own Sovereign. Theſe two facts are, in our opinions, deciſive in reſpect of Mack's criminality. The Archduke Ferdinand's ſucceſsful retreat, with only one third of the force left behind with Mack, is the beſt comment on that General's conduct; which, we think, it is impoſſible to refer to any thing but the moſt inconceivable imbecility, or to the moſt abominable treachery. We believe the moſt ſkilful of military men could not foreſee either this extraordinary event, or the abandoned profligacy of the Elector of Bavaria; and therefore we take no ſhame to ourſelves for having entertained a ſanguine expectation that the French would be checked at the very commencement of the campaign.

Our domeſtic politics require little notice. Party, though circumſcribed both in its limits and effects, ſtill continues to rage; but an immenſe majority of the nation hail, with joy, the preſent proſpect of a happy change in the affairs of Europe, and do juſtice to thoſe Miniſters who have contributed their utmoſt exertions to produce it. Indeed, we defy their moſt inveterate opponents to ſhew, from the hiſtory of this country, any inſtance of greater efforts, in the ſame ſpace of time, having been made, than thoſe which have been made, during the preſent year, in the naval,* military, and diplomatic departments. That grand confederacy againſt France, which it was the great, the leading object of the two preceding

* Let the naval adminiſtration of Lord BARHAM be compared with that of Lord SAINT VINCENT, and, in every point of view, we ſcruple not to pronounce, that the reſult of the compariſon will be moſt honourable to the *former*. The latter retired, when the ſummer was far advanced, from the fatigue of proſecutions, to preſide o'er the *independent* Club at Malden,

preceding Adminiſtrations to produce, but which they laboured in vain to accompliſh, has been moſt happily atchieved by the preſent Adminiſtration. 'Tis true, indeed, a variety of fortunate circumſtances have occurred to favour their deſigns, but they have done all that men could do for the attainment of their object, and it would therefore be the height of injuſtice to withhold from them the praiſe which is really their due. We are the ſlaves of no party, nor ever will be. We ſcorn to *flatter* any man. We hold in equal abhorrence unjuſt cenſure, and unmerited commendation. What we think, we will honeſtly ſay, or be ſilent. We will not barter our independence for the beſt gifts which either Miniſters or *Patriots* can beſtow.

Among the domeſtic occurrences of the month, the proceedings on the *Thankſgiving-day* claim particular notice. We ſhall never be ſuſpected of harbouring a wiſh to check the national ſpirit, in the ſmalleſt degree, when directed to a laudable object; much leſs of being hoſtile to any endeavour to alleviate the ſufferings, or to ſupply the wants, of thoſe brave men who have fought and bled in their country's cauſe. But vain as we know will be the effort to ſtem the popular tide, we will diſcharge our duty, in cenſuring the proceedings of the Committee of the *Patriotic Fund*, on the occaſion to which we allude. Theſe Gentlemen took upon themſelves to direct their Secretary to ſend a letter to every clergyman in the kingdom, calling upon the public "to unite the duties of patriotiſm with thoſe of devotion," and on the clergyman himſelf to "*exert his beſt influence in recommending the mode pointed out*" by the Committee, for increaſing their fund, by collections at the doors of the different churches. We ſhould but ill characterize this extraordinary and unprecedented proceeding, by calling it *irregular*; for we conſider it as *preſumptuous*, in the higheſt degree, in a committee of merchants, ſitting at Lloyd's, or any where elſe, to dictate, as it were, a line of proceeding to the whole body of the clergy, and to indicate the mode in which they ſhould contribute to the ſucceſs of *their* plans, let thoſe plans be what they might. The application, if any were to be made, ſhould have been made to the Biſhops of the reſpective dioceſes, who alone (with the exception of the King, and of the Legiſlature) have the power or the right ſo to dictate to the clergy. The proceeding, then, whatever objection might, on other grounds, be urged againſt it, would have been put in a regular courſe. Indeed, without the expreſs ſanction of the Biſhop we are at a loſs to conceive how any clergyman could feel himſelf juſtified in complying with ſuch a requiſition.* But we have other reaſons, and, as it appears to us, *ſolid* objections to the meaſure itſelf. In the firſt place, its tendency was to convert a *Thankſgiving Sermon*, commanded by the King in Council, into a *Charity Sermon*, required by a committee of merchants at Lloyd's Coffee-houſe. According to our conception of things, and if we be wrong we beg to be

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Malden, and to hob-a-nob with that *enlightened* politician, Mr. *William Smith*, the Socinian grocer, the ſucceſsful opponent at Norwich of that elegant ſcholar and accompliſhed gentleman, the Right Honourable WILLIAM WINDHAM.

* Some clergymen, we know, did *not* think themſelves juſtified in ſo doing; and therefore, moſt properly, refuſed to direct any collection to be made at the churches in which they officiated—a conduct, in our opinion, highly praiſeworthy.

for

ſet right, this could not, with propriety, be required or done by any leſs authority than that whence the Proclamation for the Thankſgiving itſelf proceeded. We are aware of what may be ſaid upon the practicability of mingling Thankſgivings for mercies received, with exhortations to charity to be practiſed. It no doubt is practicable to divide the attention of a congregation, though it was not our good fortune to have any proof of its practicability on the laſt Thankſgiving-day; but this is not the queſtion; nor does the admiſſion at all meet our objection. In the ſecond place, the public notice given, that a collection would take place after divine ſervice, was calculated to keep away numbers from church, who wiſhed to offer their thankſgivings to their God, though they had not the means of relieving their fellow-creatures. And this would be the caſe, not ſo much with the pooreſt members of ſociety, as with others who, with difficulty, preſerve a decent appearance, and, by good management, contrive to conceal their poverty from the world; and this, we fear, conſtitutes no very ſmall portion of the community.* Theſe are our *principal* objections to the meaſure in queſtion; and, as we felt the weight of them ourſelves, we conceived it neceſſary to lay them before our readers. Nor will we omit this opportunity of ſtating our apprehenſions of the *precedent* likely to be eſtabliſhed by this Fund; ariſing partly from the nature of the thing itſelf, and partly from the management of it. We certainly begin to fear, that our ſeamen may be led to look to other ſources of *honour and rewards* than the only legitimate ſource acknowledged by the principles and proviſions of the Britiſh Conſtitution; we fear, alſo, from the ſubſcriptions of *crews* and *regiments*, that other *deliberative bodies* may ariſe than thoſe which are recognized by the laws of the land, or ſanctioned by the rules of political prudence. As to the *appropriation* of the Fund, as far as it goes to make a proviſion for the diſabled ſailors, for widows, or orphans, it is certainly well employed; but the moſt eligible mode of appropriating any conſiderable ſum that might be collected, would unqueſtionably be the endowment of an hoſpital, ſomewhat on the plan of that at Greenwich; by which means not only a real but a *permanent* benefit would be conferred on our ſeamen.

We have no doubt that theſe obſervations will, in the preſent temper of the public mind, be conſidered as captious and taſtidious; but we remember that our remarks on part of one of the former *faſt prayers* was generally regarded in the ſame light; though the very paſſage to which we objected was omitted in the ſucceeding faſt-prayer; a ſure proof, at leaſt, that they who were moſt competent to judge, did not think our objections frivolous.

One more remark, incidental to the ſubject, and we have done with it. That methodiſtical fanatic, who occaſionally preaches in the *Round-House*, in Blackfriar's-road, had, previous to the thanksgiving-day, declared that the collection at his Chapel ſhould be greater in amount than any other collection whatever. Accordingly, on the noon of that day his emiſſaries were diſpatched to thoſe Churches at which it was expected the greateſt collections would be made, in order to aſcertain their amount. This being done, he had a *ſecond* collection in the evening (though in the public advertiſements

* If it had been deemed expedient, by competent authority, that a collection ſhould be made, in ſupport of the Patriotic Fund, a day ſhould have been ſet apart for the purpoſe, and an appropriate ſermon preached, at every church, on the occaſion; but on no account ſhould it have been ſuffered to interfere with the ſpecific ſervice and duties of the *Thankſgiving-day*.

there

there *appears* to have been only *one*) at which was received a *widow's mite*, conſiſting of a Bank-note for One *Hundred Pounds*, coming, moſt opportunely, to verify the prediction of this Arch-Methodiſt, this wolf in ſheep's clothing. No man in his ſenſes can believe that the contribution came from any other than the preacher himſelf, or one of his confidential friends; that widow, who could call a hundred pounds a *mite* would deſerve more cenſure for her hypocriſy than praiſe for her charity. But it would be an inſult to the ſex to admit the ſuppoſition that any one of them could ſo act. The ſequel, we think will demonſtrate the juſtice of our concluſions. Not ſo humble was the Reverend fanatic, he had eſtabliſhed his popularity as he thought; and he reſolved to render it conducive to his own views. On the following Sunday, this *charitable* man, after imputing the whole merit of this great collection *to himself*, had the inſolence and preſumption to contraſt his own conduct with that of the *Biſhops*, who, he ſaid, had done nothing on this occaſion; not one of them had preached on the Thankſgiving-day; and indeed, he added, they were good for nothing, but to live in ſplendour, to loll in their carriages, and to wear great wigs to cover thoſe heads which have nothing in them. This, and much more to the ſame purpoſe, did he not heſitate to declare from the pulpit! Hence the *motive* for this liberal contribution is eaſily traced. And, indeed, there ſeems to be no other motive or object with theſe fanatics (who, we are ſorry to ſay, daily increaſe) than to vilify the heads and members of the church, and to deride the eſtabliſhment.

Much as we reſpect the memory of Lord Nelſon, highly as we think of his profeſſional talents, and we certainly think him the greateſt Admiral which the world ever produced, whether we conſider the wiſdom with which his plans were conceived, or the admirable ſkill, courage, and deciſion, with which they were executed, we could not liſten to the groſs adulation which was laviſhed on him *from the pulpit*, without a mingled ſenſation of pain and diſguſt. In ſhort, it ſometimes bordered on *impiety*. We heard too, with aſtoniſhment, the epithet *ſacred* applied, in the ſame place, to the Patriotic *Fund*. Feeling carried to enthuſiam, on ſuch a ſubject, may be tolerated, and even admired, in public or in private, but preachers never ſhould forget, that the Houſe of God is the Sanctuary of Truth, and not the Temple of Adulation.

Nov. 21, 1805.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE Rev. E. W. Whitaker will pleaſe to be informed that we duly received his letter of the 10th June laſt, accompanied with his Commentary on the Apocalypſe, for which we thank him. The book diſplays great learning and ingenuity; but we muſt be permitted to add that it has not had the effect of making any alteration in our opinions. The ſubject is ſtill the *Crux clericorum*; and every thing which comes in our way relating to it proves it to be ſo. We thought that we did ample juſtice to Mr. Whitaker in our remarks on Mr. Galloway; and we think ſo ſtill. But whatever difference of ſentiment may exiſt between Mr. Whitaker and us on a point on which the greateſt divines have differed, we beg leave moſt ſolemnly to aſſure Mr. Whitaker that we entertain for him the higheſt reſpect.

All the Communications from our various Correſpondents, not yet inſerted, ſhall appear next month, either in the *Appendix* to the preſent Volume, which will then be publiſhed, or in the firſt Number of the ſucceeding Volume.

APPENDIX

TO VOLUME XXII.

Memoires du Comte Joſeph de Puiſaye, Lieut. Général, &c. &c. Qui pourront ſervir à l'Hiſtoire du partie Royaliſte François durant la derniere Revolution. 8vo. 2 tom. à Londres, chez Harding, et Dulau. 1803.

Memoirs of Count Joſeph de Puiſaye, &c.

THE French revolution is a moſt ſtriking example of the ruinous conſequences produced by a want of unanimity and mutual co-operation. Had all thoſe who wiſhed not to overturn, but only to reform, the then exiſting government of France, acted vigorouſly and in uniſon, the revolutionary horrors would not have ſtained the page of hiſtory. Europe would not have experienced ſo many years of bloodſhed and devaſtation, and France would at this day have been free and happy. But the princes, and what was termed the *nobleſſe de la cour*, were obſtinate againſt all reformation, as were likewiſe many of the higher clergy; and ſcarcely any two of the provincial nobles had the ſame ideas on the ſubject. They thus became an unconnected and impotent maſs, waſting the time in futile diſcuſſions, and mutual reproach, which ſhould have been employed in vigorous and well-concerted meaſures againſt the anarchiſts. The natural conſequence followed, they became weaker every day, while their antagoniſts daily acquired new ſtrength and enterpriſe. They ruined themſelves, their king and their country, and entailed unſpeakable calamities on the whole of the weſtern world.

Among the many wrong meaſures which were adopted, the general emigration (would *flight* be too harſh a term?) of the princes and nobles was one of the moſt ruinous. It evidenced a fear of the enemy, and, of courſe, increaſed his confidence, and his power.

The writer of the Memoirs before us choſe not to follow that example.—Finding that nothing was to be done by a war of words at Paris, he retired to his eſtate, and endeavoured to excite an effective warlike oppoſition to the ſelf-created rulers of the day. His exploits, and thoſe of his aſſociates in the ſame cauſe, are well known: their reſiſtance for ſuch a length of time, with ſo little external aid, and unſupported by the co-operation of the other French provinces, is truly wonderful; and is an evident proof of what might have been

done, had the emigrants remained at home, and made ſimilar exertions. On this ſubject Mr. de Puiſaye obſerves very juſtly:

"If a few inſulated gentlemen in Poitou, Brittany, and Anjou, were able ſucceſſively to raiſe more than 500,000 men, what would not the whole of the French nobility have been able to do, diſperſed through all the provinces, and acting in conſort?" (Vol. II. p. 53.)

It is not ſurpriſing that a perſon who thus took a part ſo diametrically oppoſite to the meaſures of the emigrants, ſhould be expoſed to hoſtility from that quarter. He has been ſo: but we wait for the concluſion of his Memoirs (which he has promiſed) before we can give any decided opinion on the juſtice or injuſtice of their attacks. The preſent volumes come down only to 1794, when he arrived in London, to conſult with our miniſtry on the future meaſures to be adopted.

Of the nature of his work Mr. de P. thus informs his readers.

"I certainly do not pretend to write the hiſtory of the French revolution, not even a hiſtory of that party which I have followed; but I can leave uſeful materials: and as I advance in the narrative of my own concerns, ſhall notice in paſſing the coincident events; relate in what light I beheld things, together with the reflections which they ſuggeſted, and the reſults from thoſe reflections which influenced my conduct.

"The reader muſt not expect to find in theſe Memoirs either the order or methodical preciſion of hiſtory. A regular literary occupation neither ſuits my habits, nor perhaps my inclination, I have no time for it, nor would a regular work anſwer my purpoſe better. A life of long agitation, a health every day becoming worſe, give me ſome right to indulgence and repoſe. I ſhall write what I have ſeen, what I have thought, as I ſaw it, and as I judged of it; and I ſhall render an account of my opinions, my obſervations, and my ſentiments, as well as of my actions.

"The long and bloody war in which I was engaged, will, without doubt, be the principal object of my Memoirs: an object which it becomes the more intereſting to know, becauſe of it, excepting thoſe who have been at leaſt indirectly concerned, no one has other than imaginary ideas. If this entire ignorance of almoſt the whole world, with regard to the real ſtate of things in the inſurgent provinces, had given riſe only to the errors and fictions which have amuſed the idle, or ſerved as food to malevolence for ſuch a number of years, it would have been uſeleſs to ſpeak of them. But if this ignorance has produced important miſtakes in the direction of the conflict ſo intereſting to the world, a conflict which, without that ignorance, might perhaps have terminated in a manner more deſireable for the preſent, and more ſtable in future, it belongs to hiſtory to collect and tranſmit the events as an uſeful leſſon to poſterity." (Vol. I. Pp. 16, 17, 18.)

A little farther on he ſays ſomething in juſtification of himſelf for having quitted France, while other commanders of the Royaliſts ſtill carried on the war.

"As to myſelf, whatever may be the judgment of impartial men as to my opinions and my conduct, I am perfectly ſatisfied that they will do juſtice to my intentions. During the dreadful convulſions which deſolated my country,

country, I deſpaired not of its ſafety. I oppoſed myſelf to the burſt of the ſtorm, and my head was expoſed to its moſt violent exploſions. I did not ſink under them; but the voice of reaſon, and of humanity, tore me from a ſcene, where I could no longer diſcover any poſſible compenſation for the blood with which it was inundated. From that time I ſhould have been guilty of all the blood which was ſpilt. Of that blood I am guiltleſs: and amid thoſe too frequent alternations of peace and war, of conciliation and treachery, of fraternity and murder, I have not to reproach myſelf with having made any compoſition with inhuman butchers, nor with having ſubmitted to the tyrants of my country." (Vol. I. Pp. 18. 19.)

The firſt volume contains the remote and proximate cauſes of the revolution, which have already been repeatedly laid before the public; and which may be all ſummed up in a tendency to deſpotiſm in the form of the French monarchy, and in the inequality of rights poſſeſſed by the different orders; in the vaſt alteration which had taken place in the public mind by the introduction of commerce, and the general advances made in knowledge; in the miſerable adminiſtration of the finances, which brought on an enormous debt; and in the weakneſs and irreſolution of government, when the moſt prompt and deciſive meaſures ſhould have been employed. We ſhall not, therefore, go over a ground which we have already trod ſo often; we ſhall only obſerve, in general, that the author execrates the conduct of the anarchiſts, and condems that of the royaliſts for a want of union, plan, and deciſion. The following is a ſpirited, and no unfaithful, delineation of the dying ſtruggles of the French monarchy.

"I know not who has ſaid that the French revolution was a revolution of *fear*. The appellation, however whimſical, is certainly moſt ſingularly appropriate. In effect, the parliaments compelled the court through *fear* to have recourſe to a National Aſſembly.—It was a *dread* of the oppoſition of the nobility and clergy, and of the parliaments, which determined the court to give to the *tiers-etat* a double repreſentation in the States-general.—It was *fear* which inſpired the firſt enterpriſes of the *tiers-etat*, thus doubled, and which ſet on foot ſo many futile meaſures to rule, or to diſſolve them.—It was *fear* that demanded the retreat of the troops from Paris and Verſailles: and it was *fear* which gave the orders for that retreat.—It was *fear* which excited the populace of Paris, and drove them to Verſailles, the 5th Oct. 1789.—It was *fear* which ſacrificed the guards of the monarch to the fury of a vile rabble, by forbidding them to repel force by force.—It was *fear* which prompted the general emigration, the inconſiderate and blameable meaſure of inconſiderate and blameable adviſers: but its details, and its victims are intereſting, and demand our admiration. It was *fear* of the return and vengeance of the princes and emigrants which ſwelled the republican armies with millions of ſoldiers, who had not participated in the crimes of the revolution, and with an infinite number of officers, who abhorred the uſurpers and their exceſſes.—In ſhort, it is *fear*, which, raiſing a barrier that every day becomes more unſurmountable, between the heir of the throne of France and Frenchmen, has rendered every effort to remove it of no avail.

"Theſe truths, which demand a copious illuſtration, will be frequently reproduced in the courſe of theſe Memoirs.

" In a word, I have ſeen nothing from the commencement of what is called *party*, but enterpriſes without foreſight, uncalculated projects, cabal without union, engagements without good faith, pride without power, effrontery without courage, boaſting and meanneſs, hypocriſy and egotiſm, bravado and cowardice, impudence and perfidy, intrigue and aſſaſſination, filth and blood.

" Such were the remains of the French monarchy, wreſtling with death in all the pangs of diſſolution." (Ib. Pp. 226—229.)

After laying before us what he conſiders to have been the cauſes of the French revolution, the author proceeds to give an account of the proceedings of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and of his conduct as a member. The former of theſe has already met the public eye ſo often, and Mr. de Puiſaye's account not differing eſſentially from ſeveral of the leſs violent and leſs partial ones which have already appeared, it is not neceſſary to lay particulars before our readers. As to the latter, it appears to be the conduct of a ſenſible and moderate man, convinced of the many evils which exiſted in the ſtate; and wiſhing for, and willing to contribute all in his power towards, a reform. This conduct, however, and his not emigrating with the French princes, have excited ſuſpicions in the mind of the emigrant party, which ſeems, with equal weakneſs and abſurdity, to make emigration the ſole teſt of loyalty. But on the controverſy between de Puiſaye and his accuſers we cannot pronounce definitively until the ſequel of the Memoirs appears, and we ſhall have peruſed the "*pieces juſtificatives*" which he has promiſed. One thing is certain, he has loſt his fortune, and riſked his life in the cauſe of royalty.

The author cloſes his account of the Conſtituent Aſſembly by ſaying that the conſtitution it formed was futile and abſurd: then adds,

" Yet this is the conſtitution which I, with 29-thirtieths of France, ſwore to ſupport. I blame not thoſe who refuſed to ſwear: but I conſidered this *ſhadow* as a laſt reſource, as the ſole, though frail buttreſs, which could for a while ſupport the State on the point of diſſolution; and I ſacrificed to it without heſitation my own ideas, and my perſonal intereſts. (Vol. I. p. 372.)

About this time Mr. de P. was ſeized with a malady both long and dangerous. On his recovery, he found that matters had come to a criſis, that to temporiſe farther was weakneſs, that now the atrocities of the anarchiſts could be repreſſed only by force.

" From the moment of the king's flight," he ſays, " and of his ſeizure at Varennes, it was notorious that he no longer enjoyed that exterior liberty, which had hitherto rendered his orders obligatory: the conſtitutional oath was *de facto*, annulled: and the promiſed reviſion of the conſtitution had not taken place. The period had arrived when force alone could preſerve France from ſinking in the gulph which had already half ſwallowed her—all heſitation was at an end. Two meaſures preſented themſelves, *emigration* and *inſurrection*. The latter was my choice." (Vol. II. Pp. 5, 6.)

The author's opinion of the French emigration may be gathered from the following extract.

" It

" It is with the moſt lively ſentiments of grief and reſpect that I reflect on the innumerable and intereſting victims who thus ſublimely devoted themſelves; whom the voice of honour ſeemed to tear, as if by inſpiration, from their homes, their repoſe, their property, their ſweeteſt habits, from every thing to which they were united by the deareſt ties. Events have had no influence on the opinion I firſt formed of the emigration: my own particular conduct, and my efforts to prevent my friends from taking that ſtep, leave no room for doubt on this point: and if I have admired the individuals, I have never ceaſed to conſider it altogether as a ſtep the moſt fatal and deplorable. Invitations and reproaches were not ſpared to withdraw from France, and from the offices which they held, thoſe who heſitated to quit the kingdom, or who appeared determined to remain. Every road was crouded with men and women, with age and infancy, haſtening from every quarter to the rallying point. This emigration met with no obſtacle. The Jacobins, whoſe cauſe it ſerved ſo well, not content with favouring it by affecting to ſhut their eyes, compelled the moſt irreſolute to fly by perſecution and outrage. It is however true that, if fright was the chief motive of ſome, as ambition was that of others, honour and duty prompted the greater number; who offered to the prince, (Count d'Artois) with eagerneſs, not only their ſwords and their blood, but likewiſe the wrecks of their fortunes which they had been able to ſave." (Vol. II. Pp. 6, 8, 9.)

As Mr. de P. repreſents emigration as a fatal ſtep, he is no leſs ſevere on a ſet of intriguers, who ſeem to have ruled in the court at Coblentz, and to have baniſhed all wiſdom from the councils of the French princes. Having told us that except M. de Calonne, and a very few others, there were none who had that ſtrength or comprehenſion of mind to diſcover, that to events ſo new, ſo various, and ſo extraordinary, it was the height of folly to oppoſe the ancient routine, but that they muſt be oppoſed by meaſures accommodated to the occaſions, he goes on to ſay,

" But if ſuch men (as Mr. Calonne, &c.) were rare, the number of thoſe whom an effeminate and idle life had rendered incapable of fixing their thoughts on ſerious ſubjects, was too conſiderable. Accuſtomed to hide their inſignificancy from others, and perhaps from themſelves, under an impoſing exterior, and cover their ignorance with the language of preſumption, many diſcovered that they had quitted Verſailles only by the difference of their furniture, or their houſes; and conſidered the awful event, which was ſoon to decide their fate, as no more than a hunting party, or a journey to Fontainebleau, or Compiegne.

" According to them the ſubmiſſion of France could not be more than the affair of one campaign. The regiments, of which moſt of them had been commanders, would not be able to ſtand their looks, and would either throw down their arms, or only keep them to fight under their ancient Colonels. The army of the enemy would then be compoſed of none but ſtupid and unwarlike peaſants, or of a maſs of tradeſmen from the towns, whoſe ſudden defeat offered to their imagination and regret nothing but a purſuit without fighting, too eaſy a victory. The emigrants already collected were a ſufficient force to accompliſh the end propoſed: the ſmaller the number, the advantages to be reaped would be the greater, as there would be fewer to divide the ſpoils: *tant pis* for thoſe who arrived too late. The conduct

of theſe gentlemen was of a piece with their reaſoning. Thoſe whom inſurmountable obſtacles had retarded for a few weeks, met with a cool reception, and were made to feel that their being received at all was a favour. Any chance expreſſion, a ſingle line written in favour of the reform of the moſt crying abuſes, were unpardonable crimes. They went ſo far as to keep a record of the dates of emigration. Eight days ſooner or later formed a ſhade of more or leſs merit, a title to preference, or a cauſe of hinderance as to the recompenſes, honours, and advancement, which every one diſtributed before hand, according to the opinion which he had of his own perſonal merit, and pretenſions. Hiſtory will be able to name men of great talents, and of ſound principles, who, repelled by this diſguſting manner, have been forced into the armies of the *Committee of Public Safety*, and compelled to give the aſſiſtance of their talents and their blood to a cauſe which they abhorred. Theſe examples, ſpread abroad, prevented thouſands of officers and ſoldiers from joining a party which held out to them nothing but a reception the moſt diſguſting and diſcouraging. As at Verſailles, the emigrant nobles occupied themſelves in ſupplanting each other, in courting favour, in dividing the ideal ſpoils of thoſe who had remained in France, in conſidering how they ſhould conduct themſelves when they had re-conquered the country; in ſhort, in every ſpecies of vengeance either public or private. This ſpirit ſpread through the neighbouring cantonments, and ſoon became almoſt univerſal In a word, the future alone was thought of, the preſent was totally forgotten. The means of ſucceſs was the eſſential object; on this not a thought was beſtowed." (Vol. II. Pp. 12—15.)

This is a melancholy and degrading picture of the French emigrant nobleſſe, but we are afraid that there is much truth in the delineation.

Mr. de P. having determined to ſerve the cauſe of royalty in the *interior*, rather than by *emigration*, he gives, among others, the following reaſons for that determination.

" The monarchy was, in fact, annihilated; all lawful authority was mute; every tie, ſocial and civil, was torn aſunder, and every Frenchman reduced to that ſituation where man, without other ſupport than himſelf, has only to conſult his own reaſon. As *Seigneur* of a conſiderable eſtate, I thought it unjuſt to abandon the care of my vaſſals, between whom and myſelf nothing had been able to deſtroy our reciprocal connection and duties.—As a *gentleman*, it was my duty to endeavour to preſerve that uſeful *influence*, which began inſenſibly to take the place of *privileges*. As a *Frenchman*, I was bound to conſecrate my fortune, my care, and my labour, to drag my country from the gulph of anarchy, and from the hands of its tyrants: and, as a *man*, to preſerve the province where I reſided from thoſe ſcenes of barbarity which were every day diſplayed in the other provinces of France. This taſk appeared to me not leſs meritorious, nor leſs dangerous than the ſterile advantage of giving one ſoldier more to the united powers. (Ib. Pp. 62, 63.)

Mr. de P. now enters on his military career. He did not at firſt diſcover publicly the final object he had in view: he contented himſelf with repreſenting to the gentlemen of Normandy that a provincial force was neceſſary to guard againſt thoſe diſorders and maſſacres which

which had taken place in many of the other provinces. In this application he was ſucceſsful. Troops were raiſed, and arrangements were made in conjunction with General Wimpffen, to organize an army of 18,000 infantry, about 3000 cavalry, with artillery and engineers in proportion. During theſe tranſactions, the conſtituted authorities, as they were called, took the alarm. Jacobin commiſſioners, and emiſſaries of every ſort were ſpread over the country, with aſſignats, with threats, and with promiſes. Jacobin troops followed. Theſe together made a conſiderable revolution in the minds of ſome, and in the conduct of many. The projected army of de Puiſaye was no longer to be hoped for: he was outlawed, and obliged, in ſelf-defence, to ſuſtain, with the very few who ſtood firm, an unequal war. From this time, till he came to Britain in 1794, to conſult with our government on the plan for continuing the war of the interior, his life appears to have been a ſucceſſion of toil, danger, deprivations of every kind, and hair-breadth eſcapes. But our limits will not permit us to enter into a detail of theſe events; for that we muſt refer our readers to the work. All that we can do is, by extracting his account of one or two of the ſituations in which he was placed, to give them a ſpecimen of what they are to expect from this part of the publication.

De Puiſaye, having collected a ſmall number of men, undiſciplined, and badly armed, determined to attack the republican army; as to retreat was in many reſpects a deſtructive meaſure, and as the enemy was receiving reinforcements every day. He determined not only to attack, but to ſurpriſe them. This latter meaſure was rendered abortive by the abſurdly indeciſive conduct of the commiſſioners; who, in imitation of the commiſſioners who attended the Conventional army, pretended to direct the warlike operations. Nothing therefore remaining but a bold and open attack, he proceeded to reconnoitre.

"The enemy," he ſays, "were drawn up in order of battle, in front of the foreſt, and as he had preſerved no intervals between the battalions, and as he had a ſecond line of equal numbers with the firſt, his front did not exceed ours. I obſerved that there was much buſtle and diſorder in the ranks. We were no ſooner perceived than we were ſaluted with a ſhower of balls. But the firing was ſcattered, and irregular. Theſe circumſtances made me hope that we ſhould have a cheap victory. They are a parcel of *sans culottes*, who know not how to handle their arms, ſaid I to my men, on my return to them, and I immediately gave orders to Colonel le Roy to charge. This order was not reliſhed by Bougon. He came to me with the other Commiſſioners, ſaying, 'that firſt of all it was indiſpenſible to ſend a trumpet to the army of the Convention with the proclamation.' Adding, 'Let them, at leaſt, know that we did not begin the firſt.' 'And what then have you been doing,' I anſwered, 'in your clubs and aſſemblies? You have choſen a ſingular time indeed for proclamations. Do you not ſee that they have already begun the attack.' Already the balls were rolling at our feet. In the meanwhile Jehame (another of the Commiſſioners) who was a brave man, and more deciſive, advances towards the enemy, holds up the proclamation, and his handkerchief, to indicate that he wiſhed to parley. He was received as we had been. At that inſtant I ordered the

drums to beat, and the artillery men to fire. We had hardly reached the army of the Convention when it fled towards the foreſt in the utmoſt diſorder. Aſtoniſhed that my cavalry had not executed the orders which they had received, I haſtened towards them to charge at their head; I found them in the greateſt diſorder: neither men nor horſes had been accuſtomed to the firing of cannon. I at length ſucceeded in re-eſtabliſhing order. I advance, but am not followed. A ditch not of breadth ſufficient to ſtop even a bad horſe, again throws them into confuſion. The enemy had retired into the wood, I wiſhed to purſue them. I am again attacked by the Commiſſioners with freſh repreſentations, with all the follies of inexperience and fear, about ambuſcades, maſqued batteries, and I know not what. The night was coming on, and the time we had loſt rendered all purſuit impracticable. I formed the deſign of returning to Pacy, where I was ſure of being ſecured againſt all ſurpriſe, by re-eſtabliſhing the well-arranged poſt of the preceding evening. The extreme heat of the day had conſiderably fatigued the troops, and we were without proviſions of every kind. This deſign was oppoſed by the Commiſſioners. Proud of what they called a firſt victory, they determined to ſleep on the field of battle. Forced to yield, I ordered Colonel le Roy to place guards at the poſts I pointed out, and which were previouſly known to him. The battalions kept guard in their order of battle, and their muſkets ready to fire, were placed in their front. Having made this arrangement, I returned to the *château* to take a little reſt. I had left Caen the 6th or 7th of July (the battle was on the 14th.). From that day I had never gone to bed, and in the courſe of the preceding month I had not ſlept three nights together. Fatigue, joined to the exceſſive heat, had produced an eryſipelas, which gave me great pain, and my legs were ſo much ſwelled that they could no longer ſupport me. After having had my boots cut off, which was the only way I could get rid of them, I threw myſelf on a bed. I had not ſlept two hours, when I was awaked by cries, and the noiſe of cannon. I was told that the enemy was in our camp. Perceiving that he was not purſued, he had rallied, and traverſed our poſts, where not a man was awake. I made them throw me on my horſe, and gallopped to the place of attack. Colonel le Roy had juſt arrived, and ſupported the enemy's fire at the head of his battalion. The grape-ſhot, badly directed, flew about among the trees, and covered us with the branches. I ran to the cannon; the drivers had fled, having firſt cut the traces, and only one artillery man remained. He was a young man of Caen, named Lafaye: we owed our ſafety to his intrepidity. He pointed two guns towards the flaſh of two cannon which fired upon us from a very ſmall diſtance: he diſmounted one, and the fire of the enemy ceaſed. While this was going on, our national guards were ſtruck with a panic, and had fled: the battalion of Colonel le Roy, broken by our cavalry, which had fled with them, is borne along in its turn. Cries, menaces, intreaties, nothing was able to put a ſtop to the torrent—twenty Huſſars might have cut the whole to pieces. In the mean while the army of the enemy, on receiving the firſt fire of our cannon, retreated in confuſion, as they had done in the morning; their cavalry did not halt till it reached Verſailles, about fifteen or ſixteen leagues from the field of battle." (Vol. II. Pp. 152—157.)

Situated as Mr. de P. was, not to obtain a deciſive victory was equivalent to a defeat. He found it impoſſible to rally his ſcattered troops. Their panic ſtill remained, and their minds were poiſoned with mutual

tual ſuſpicion and diſtruſt. Theſe, with the intrigues of the emiſſaries of the convention, and the money which they diſtributed with an unſparing hand, rendered all attempts to ſupport the royal cauſe in Normandy ineffectual: Mr. de. P. was therefore obliged to abandon that province, and with one or two of his moſt faithful friends, to attempt to reach Brittany, where the people were more generally diſpoſed to ſecond his views. This was a matter of extreme difficulty, as he had been outlawed, and a high price offered for his head. After being expoſed to dangers of every kind, to every ſpecies of privation, and to the moſt harraſſing fatigue, he at laſt reached that province; and from that period till his quitting France, to arrange in London a plan of co-operation with our government, he appears to have been an active partiſan.

The nature of our work will not permit us to detail the various events of this deſultory and cruel war, but the following extract will give ſome idea of it to our readers. Mr. de P. with ſome other royaliſt leaders, had made choice of a retired hut near their camp, where they ſlept. The enemy had been made acquainted with this retreat, and ſurpriſed them on the morning of the 29th Nov. 1793.

"At day break my friends heard a confuſed ſound of voices: they fancied that it was the troop which I had ordered to march the night before, and did not think of waking me. *La Héchois*, and the elder *la Maſſue*, got up to meet them. In a moment they were attacked and ſeized. La Héchois with a cut of his ſabre diſengaged himſelf; la Maſſue had no arms. *Focard* jumped from his bed, and killed the man who had ſeized him. At that inſtant, as I ſtarted from ſleep, I heard a voice exclaim, 'What! do the gentlemen defend themſelves!' Immediately a ſhower of bullets is directed towards our hut: our frail roof tumbles on our heads: I had only time to take my gun, and to grope for ſome cartridges; about a minute paſſed before I could find them. The younger la Maſſue was in the middle of the hut; I perceived a man preſenting his piece at him; I called to la Maſſue, *fire!* he did, his adverſary fell, but he himſelf ſunk lifeleſs to the ground, as his brother entered to find his arms. All this time the intrepid Focard, whom I had given over for dead, alone ſupported the fire of the enemy without. He had given death to many. '*Charge them, charge them,*' he called out, 'they give way.' We ruſhed upon them. A panic terror, for which we could not account, had ſeized on them; they retired to the ſkeleton of the wood, which ſkirted the open country ſurrounding our hut. We traverſed this ſpace without other oppoſition than that of ſome diſtant vollies. La Héchois fell, pierced by numberleſs balls. Le Roy had ſeveral through his clothes. The elder la Maſſue's ſuſee was ſhattered to pieces in his hands. I alone remained untouched. Focard had received three wounds, one in the head, another in the leg, and a third in the breaſt. We did not quit each other, and penetrated into the wood." (Vol. II. Pp. 309, 10.)

After ſome minute particulars, which are intereſting, but which we have not room to inſert, he goes on.

"Our precipitation had totally bewildered us: we knew not where we were. The ſun had not as yet riſen; Le Roy, who had ſome aſtronomical knowledge,

knowledge, directed us as well as he could, but imperfectly, as the ſky was cloudy. La Maſſue, whoſe courage did not forſake him, notwithſtanding the tears which this intereſting young man ſhed for the loſs of his brother, climbed the higheſt trees to diſcover ſome land-mark, by which we might find out where we were. This foreſt, which has a circumference of ſeveral leagues, is interſected by a multiplicity of paths, which croſs each other in every direction, many of which lead to places, that, in our preſent ſituation, it would have been highly imprudent to approach. We had obſerved a pond, from whence we knew the road to our camp. Our whole efforts were employed to diſcover this pond; which we effected, after wandering five hours through briars and thorns. None of us had time to put on our ſhoes and ſtockings: my friends, having but one bed, had lain down in their clothes. As to myſelf, I was reduced to my ſhirt, and my gun, ſo that my body, from the briars and thorns, was all over one wound. But, thinking of the more intereſting ſituation of Focard, my own paſſed unregarded. We had hardly diſcovered the ſo long deſired point, when we beheld our hut. The firſt objects which ſtruck us were the bodies of our young friends, dreadfully disfigured, and cut in pieces by the cannibals, who had come back after our retreat." (Vol. II. Pp. 311—313.)

It may be neceſſary to explain the exclamation of the anarchiſts, "What! do the gentlemen defend themſelves!" The traitor had betrayed the ſituation of the hut, but it would appear had not known by whom it was inhabited. The anarchiſts expected to meet with only a few proſcribed prieſts, and were confounded when they met with reſiſtance. They imagined that they had been betrayed; and maſſacred their ſpy in their retreat.

Having already exceeded our limits, we can only add that Mr. de P. after experiencing difficulties and dangers of every ſort, yet not deſpairing of ultimate ſucceſs, paſſed into Britain in 1794, to ſolicite the co-operation of our government. Here his narrative ſtops, and here too we ſhall ſtop, without deciding on his conduct, till the whole of it has been laid before the public.

With regard to the literary merits of the publication, they are much above mediocrity. We muſt, however, ſay that the narrative is too diffuſe, that the author turns aſide into abſtract reaſonings which are out of place; and is not free from that unintereſting and ſuperfluous declamation, which, even in this country, but more eſpecially in France, is, in ſpite of good taſte, conſidered by the many to be *fine* writing. The French revolution has not leſs debauched the intellect than the morals of the human race, and the ſimple and impreſſive language of taſte and of nature is no longer heard, or, if at any time they venture to ſpeak it, is received as the language of antiquated imbecility. To write *much*, or to ſpeak *for hours*, is now conſidered as writing, or ſpeaking *well*. The man who contrives to expand the legitimate contents of an 8vo. into a magnificent 4to. and he who declaims for four hours on what might have been diſcuſſed in half an hour, are both applauded: the *parvum in multo*, ſeems, according to the Gallican phraſeology, to be "the order of the day."

For our author, however, one obvious apology may be offered. He did

did not ſit down cooly to ſtate a caſe in which he had no concern. His paſſions were afloat, his honour, and his reputation were at ſtake, and in that effervescence of mind, a correct work is not to be expected. But in a work of this kind it is not the *manner* but the *matter* which is to be looked to, all that we require is *truth.* Hitherto we are rather diſpoſed to believe the writer; the promiſed ſequel will enable us to decide.

(To be continued.)

L'Art Militaire, &c.—*The Military Art, as it exiſted among the moſt famous Nations of Antiquity, analyzed and compared with that of Modern Times: or, an Inquiry into the true Theory of War, and the eſſential Principles of the Military Inſtitution.* By L. M. P. de Laverne, an old Officer of Dragoons. Pp. 510. 8vo. Paris, 1805. Imported by Deconchy, 8s.

NUMEROUS, indeed, are the projects for perpetual peace that have iſſued from the French preſs; and Frenchmen have eagerly adopted the idea, but always with the latent hope that they ſhould be the means of realiſing it, as maſters of the civilized world. That thoſe who have always been the moſt abject ſlaves of the lawleſs ambition of a ruthleſs tyrant, the military executioner of Europe, ſhould well know the inevitable miſeries of a cruel, ambitious, policy, and inceſſantly dream of perpetual peace, is perfectly natural. Injuſtice and inconſiſtency are ever allied; and it has been truly obſerved, that the moſt abandoned in iniquity are obliged to place their crimes in the ſhade of virtue ere they can coolly behold them. Such projects might therefore be expected; but whilſt their tongues falter with the milder accents of peace at this moment, the next, their hearts palpitate with that ambition which "only in deſtroying finds eaſe to its relentleſs thoughts." It is in vain, however, that Frenchmen longer attempt to deceive the world by their projects of perpetual and univerſal peace. Were ſuch a meaſure either deſirable or practicable, it is not from them that it ſhould emanate: they who never were the authors of any one permanently uſeful diſcovery, are not likely to produce what is to give a new character to the world to the lateſt poſterity. The work before us is, indeed, avowedly borrowed from that of the Pruſſian officer, M. de Bulow, on the modern ſyſtem of war, and as ſuch merits attention. The whole tenor of this verboſe volume, which conſiſts of tedious hiſtorical reflections, ſometimes interſperſed with feeble rays of good ſenſe, aims at fixing two points, the utility of augmenting and improving the military inſtitution, and the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing the balance of power in Europe, whence general and permanent peace, according to our author, muſt neceſſarily reſult. We ſhall ſelect a few of the more judicious reflections that are ſcattered through the work, which is not very ſyſtematic, although the author contends for the importance of order and regularity, not only in the army, but in every department of life. In the preface, he obſerves,

ſerves, that "It cannot be too often repeated and proved, that men can neither be great, happy, ſtrong or triumphant, but with the ſpirit of order, method, and prudence; and that enthuſiaſm and the ardent virtues have never produced any thing durable, as they ſpring from the paſſions, and lead directly to vice. True virtue has its ſource but in reaſon." What a ſatire upon his volatile countrymen, who fly from paſſion to paſſion, always in the very vortex of enthuſiaſm and frenzy, and who never reaſon on any ſubject or in any capacity. It is an undeniable fact, that all the French writers, from Rabelais to Monteſquieu and Condillac, uniformly endeavour to arreſt the feelings of their readers at the expense of their reaſon, and their ſucceſs has conſequently been in proportion to the greater or leſs capacity for feeling or reaſoning in man. Take the arguments of their graveſt or moſt profound philoſophers, not excepting even Monteſquieu, and they will be found of a ſtructure and weight very ſimilar to thoſe in uſe by our poets; and very few of them attain the dignity of thoſe common to Milton and Young, whom we never think of conſidering as philoſophers like Locke and Hartley.

But to return to our military author, who defines the art of war to be "no other than a ſyſtem of attack and defence, a manner of acting all at once with *unity* againſt the enemy (faire avec enſemble & unite du mal á l'ennemi), and to produce diſorder among them ſyſtematically." We muſt paſs over his obſervations on the origin of nations, which, however conſonant to the Chriſtian faith, have little to recommend them. He obſerves, indeed, that "the firſt civilized nations were the firſt conquerors, and the firſt who have had the idea of organizing their troops after a reaſonable ſyſtem;" hence he infers, that the *enſemble* and *unité* of his ſyſtem are not only advantageous and neceſſary to the progreſs of civilization; but that they are congenial with the nature of the human mind. It is alſo obſerved, that the hierarchy of the Grecian armies, although under another name, was very nearly the ſame as that of the Medes, Aſſyrians, and Perſians, which was purely monarchial; and that the republican Greeks, on all great occaſions, were obliged to adopt the monarchial form, as tending more immediately to defenſive power and to unity. Laverne alſo expoſes the ignorance of thoſe who talked of patriotiſm and of their country, by ſhewing how new conqueſts or treaties may make millions, our countrymen, who before neither ſpoke the ſame language, nor lived under the ſame laws; and at the ſame time feelingly laments the partition of France into departments, as the certain deſtruction of that provincial ſpirit ſo uſeful to her armies. The virtues too of the Carthaginians, a mercantile people, are more juſtly appreciated than uſual with French writers; and their national fidelity repreſented as ſuch, that although their citizens were often entruſted with the moſt unlimited power, and with the moſt unbounded liberty, they never once abuſed it, or betrayed the true intereſts of their country. We cannot, indeed, ſo much approve of the following ſentiment: "Catharine II. this extraordinary woman, who leaves far behind

hind her the Semiramiſes, Margarites, and Elizabeths, marks the age in Ruſſia like Louis XIV. in France." With reſpect to the particular merit of Catharine, it is foreign to our preſent ſubject, but we would obſerve to all thoſe whoſe ignorance or malignity would diſparage the very uncommon powers of Elizabeth, that it is much eaſier to civilize a nation ſurrounded by other highly civilized powers, than to elevate one above the ignorance and barbarity of all the other kingdoms of the earth.

To thoſe who admire the military proweſs of the republican generals, we recommend the obſervations of the author, who clearly ſhews that the want of military ſcience in the French generals in 1796, by leaving unreduced ſeveral ſtrong places, near ſixty leagues in their rear, was the cauſe of that diſaſtrous campaign, and that till Luxemburgh, Maeſtricht, and Mentz ſurrendered, they could never drive the Auſtrians acroſs the Rhine.

"In general, I repeat it," ſays he, "that the more we ſtudy the Hiſtory of the Revolution war, the more we ſhall be convinced that the *number of men*, the *prodigious quantity* of *materials for war*, the ſtrength of the baſis on which it was ſupported, and the vaſt conception of the plans on which they acted (all things that in modern war are the primordial ſources of ſucceſs), have been the only cauſes of the great advantages gained by the French armies."

M. Laverne accounts for all theſe circumſtances by a reference to facts, that completely ſtrip the republican generals of all their boaſted laurels. Nothing, indeed, can be more abſurd than to ſuppoſe that a poſtilion, barber, taylor, or village ſchool-maſter, can in a moment be converted into ſoldiers qualified to command armies, as well as thoſe regularly educated to the profeſſion. The numbers of the French armies (we have been aſſured by reſpectable authority, that they amounted to 950,000 men at one period), the author aſcribes to the *levy en maſſe* of an increaſed population, the quantity of materials, to twenty years continental peace maintained by Louis XVI. before the revolution; the baſis, to his favourite principle of unity; and the plans, he aſſerts with much plauſibility, were all ſelected from the immenſe variety found in the office of the miniſter at war, where project after project was heaped, often unopened, from the days of Louis XIV. to the fell exploſion of the Revolution. It is not then to Carnot, De la Croix, Berthier, &c. that the merit of the military plans is to be attributed; they only adopted them, and aſſumed the honour of their invention, with the ſame regard to honeſty that we have recently ſeen exerciſed by Andreoſſy, in falſely claiming the merit of the projection of the Canal of Languedoc to his grandfather. Theſe, and many other concomitant facts, ſhould teach us the neceſſity of exerciſing the higheſt degree of ſcepticiſm reſpecting the qualities of modern Frenchmen. This is the more neceſſary, that it has long been a national maxim with them to repreſent themſelves as poſſeſſing, in an eminent degree, that which they are conſcious to be moſt deficient in, and thus by the empty reputation to produce even a more important

important political effect than the reality would. It muſt be confeſſed, indeed, that their ſucceſs has hitherto been very conſiderable; yet we doubt not, that in a few years more the deluſion will be extinguiſhed, and the world as perfectly convinced of the inferiority of their talents, as it is now of their moral turpitude. The followiug reflections offer a fair repreſentation of the author's mode of treating his ſubject, with regard to general and permanent peace.

"Frederic fought for ſelf-defence, and became a conqueror, but with a wiſdom and meaſure that characterized him. He took provinces uſeful to the ſecurity and proſperity of his ſtates, and was careful not to go farther, even when he would have been able without danger. Catharine II. more ambitious, ſpent money and men that would have been better employed in the interior, and failed in ſome of her projects. France, during the revolution war, fought for her defence, and conquered Europe. But, afterwards overſtepping her limits with the ſpirit and deſire of conqueſt, and having no more to do on the continent but with Auſtria alone, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of her forces, and in ſpite of the exaltation and ardor that the revolutionary ſtate excited in the minds of her ſoldiers, ſhe has been able to do her enemy no other injury than that of ſeizing ſome provinces which Auſtria long ſince could no longer hope to retain. As an indemnity for thoſe, France has ceded to her the republic of Venice, that is much more important to the actual ſituation of the Auſtrian monarchy. On the other hand, France has not been able to prevent the German Empire from growing ſtill rounder by a conſiderable part of Poland. Thus, the reſult of this terrible ſtruggle has been, that in relation to the extent of territory, France has comparatively but little augmented her power to what ſhe was before, and Auſtria has ſeen hers nothing diminiſhed; but both have loſt precious blood and diſſipated millions. So many memorable examples will at length prove to Europe, that every day knowledge and civilization conſolidate the balance between the principal powers, and will henceforth make them feel more than ever this truth already known; that there are no riches, proſperity, or real glory for a ſtate, but a perfected agriculture, a grand commerce, and a great population. In ſhort, if the intereſt of powers require ſome conceſſions, ſome changes of territory, theſe arrangements may take place much better by way of negotiation, without recurring to arms, which, during the two laſt centuries, have ſerved but to embroil the affairs of Europe, and which have always been finally terminated by negotiation. Civilization tends to mitigate the effects of war, and the invention of gunpowder was favourable to the introduction of *unity* in the military ſyſtem. I have examined the progreſs of civilization, and obſerved ſeveral great nations, alike informed, counterbalance themſelves by a political balance, of which the actual military ſyſtem is the firmeſt ſupport. On this view of the ſtate of things, I have hazarded the conjecture, that the ſpirit of calculation and combination now neceſſary to prepare, and to make war with ſucceſs, ſhould lead men every day to foreſee more and more its inutility, and by conſequence to no more engage in it.——The perfection of the military art therefore tends to produce a *ſtagnation* of arms, and to this art carried to *its laſt degree* of perfection, the nations of Europe will one day be indebted for a permanent ſtate of peace. Superficial obſervers will regard theſe ideas as illuſory, but they do not perceive their affinity with ſociety. In the founders of primitive ſocieties, guided by a divine hand, faith was more ſenſible

when,

when the heart was more innocent and ſimple, ſo that they proceeded by ways direct, fixed, conſtant and uniform. But the increaſe of numbers, and conſequent diſperſion of the people, diſtance from their birth-places, natural wants, and pride, altered their manners, ſo that ſome became, demi-barbarous, ſome totally ſo, and others ſavage; or, what is ſynonimous, brutalized: whence it follows that the ſavage ſtate has ſucceeded, and not preceded, the ſtate of poliſhed ſociety, from which it is but a deviation. Hence too, it is inferred, that men will grow more virtuous by the ſame gradations that they grew vicious."

It may be true, that exceſſive vice muſt cure itſelf either by ſhowing the indiſpenſible neceſſity of virtue, or by exterminating its guilty votaries; yet, it is certain, that it has gradually increaſed in France, from the reſtoration of learning to the preſent hour, and that, during this period, we ſhall in vain look for complete and accurate conception of moral rectitude, either in the writings or actions of Frenchmen. This is a truth which cannot be too much inculcated, and which deſerves the moſt ſerious attention from the ſtudents and patrons of French literature in this country. It is true, indeed, that they frequently pourtray ſome one virtue with a lively pencil, but it is invariably accompanied by ſome latent, deleterious, vice, that renders its adoption peſtiferous to the minds of youth. *Telemaque* is no exception to this obſervation, which is confirmed by the well-known fact, that all French writers deſcribe human actions to vicious motives, while the Engliſh as uniformly attribute them to virtuous ones. Were we aſked a cauſe for ſuch mental depravity, we ſhould reply, that no children whoſe infant minds have been ſtrongly impreſſed with the dogmas of the Church of Rome, are ever after capable of forming perfect conceptions of genuine moral rectitude. We fear, therefore, that our author is ſomewhat too ſanguine in his expectations of the progreſs of virtue among his countrymen. Before the true principles of moral rectitude be well underſtood in France, the Proteſtant religion muſt be there naturalized, all their preſent works of literature thrown into oblivion, to give place to Engliſh works of education, their violent paſſions, levity, and reſtleſs love of pleaſure and ambition, rendered ſubſervient to reaſon, a ſentiment of true honour and veracity eſtabliſhed, and even then centuries will elapſe ere the more exalted virtues become general in that country.

M. Laverne's reaſoning on the advantages of the French ſucceſſes, betrays his opinion that his country is juſtly entitled to all her newly acquired territory, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or the rights of nations. He, however, repeatedly deplores the introduction of "any principle of exaggeration whatever, as it is deſtructive of the true martial ſpirit." If now living, what will he ſay of recent accounts of military exploits? For the preſent we ſhall notice his ideas of the Balance of Power in Europe.

"The commencement of the 15th century gave birth to the notion of the balance of Europe, precious and ſalutary idea, that ſerves as a bridle to the great, and a guarantee to the ſmaller ſtates. The invention of gunpowder

juſt

juſt conſolidated and perfected this balance, by obliging even the armed force to limit itſelf to certain bounds, which the nature of things rendered it impoſſible to overleap. The force of circumſtances, diſpoſed without doubt by the hand of Providence itſelf, has created the European balance, the moſt ſublime inſtitution that has ever taken place for the perfection and happineſs of the human ſpecies. This baſis of policy being eſtabliſhed for the proſperity, ſecurity and repoſe of nations, all that now remains to be done by the great powers of Europe, is to ſhow themſelves ſufficiently informed and magnanimous to put a bridle on their ambition. The ſtates of Europe cannot deſtroy each other, and conſequently ſhould hearken to reaſon. Since that I have reflected on the political ſtate of Europe, I have never been able to comprehend how it has been pretended to demonſtrate by reaſoning, a neceſſity for the rivality of two chief (majeur) powers, eſpecially when they are neighbours. I can indeed conceive it, but by quite other motives than thoſe drawn from reaſon. I ſhould rather think that this rivalry ought to exiſt between diſtant powers, as they, experiencing more obſtacles to ſelf-examination, can dextrouſly elude the inſpection of each other. Hence this power of inſpection is the true guarantee of the equilibrium or balance, as the ſupport of the latter ought to be the mother idea and regulator of the combinations of politics."

As we have extracted ſome of the author's more diſtinct opinions on military and political inſtitutions, we ſhall now translate ſome of his commercial ideas.

"Where a ſtate has not ſufficient manufactures, even in conſuming foreign merchandizes, its commerce is enriched by the ſale at ſecond hand. Should this not produce to the merchants fortunes like thoſe of a great manufacturer, it matters not. Society, conſidered in a general point of view, has its wants, which are thus ſupplied: it has merchandize at a reaſonable rate, which is the eſſential. But, in this caſe, a ſtate will conſtantly give away its circulating medium never to regain it! This has been much talked of; but is not the folly of the exclamation felt. A ſtate muſt find its reſources in the fertility of the ſoil, and the abundance of its productions. I have laid it down as a principle, that, generally ſpeaking, the ſyſtem of protection in matters of commerce is bad. The richeſt ſtate is that which unites agriculture, manufactures and colonies in activity. A nation in this condition can loſe nothing by the ſtruggle of commerce with its neighbours, and might leave its commercial affairs at abſolute liberty, without any other reſult than advantage to its internal proſperity. The freedom of importation is a motive of emulation in manufactures."

Theſe ſentiments, as well as many others diſperſed through this volume, expoſe the narrow policy, the pernicious laws, and the groſs ignorance and incapacity of Buonaparté. His prohibitory mandates, ignorantly believed to be an imitation of Engliſh protecting duties, put a total ſtop to all the manufactures in France before ſix months of peace had expired. The effect of the annihilating ſyſtem of Chaptal, the *medecin mediocre* of Montpellier, is a proof how ill qualified doctors are for legiſlators, and of covetous ambition effecting its own ruin.

We cannot notice all the opinions of M. Laverne that are juſtly reprehenſive

prehenſive of almoſt all the meaſures of the actual tyranny of France, nor all his arguments for peace, and the neceſſity of a balance of power in Europe. Many of his military obſervations are more valuable, as they are, perhaps, the reſult of experience, and a knowledge of warfare. He approves of the German ſyſtem of having but a ſmall number of officers: four to every hundred men he conſiders fully adequate to effect every purpoſe of which martial genius and heroiſm is capable. Still, however, he recurs to his favourite project of final peace, and the balance of power; and it muſt be confeſſed, that his grand argument for effecting peace by the very means that have hitherto been uſed to deſtroy it, acquires ſome plauſibility from the recollection that it was war that firſt extended civilization over Europe.

"The enormous expences of war at preſent, he contends, will force governments to ſuſpend their projects of conqueſt, and thereby prevent the *neceſſity* of war. Every day tends more and more to augment the empire of things, and diminiſh that of men: as knowledge becomes more general, the individual poſſeſſor of it becomes leſs conſequential. There are now perſons who reject the pretended glory with which it is wiſhed to cover bloody trophies, and who affirm with confidence, that it is more agreeable to improve than to overturn, to ameliorate than change, to be protector than maſter."

The author concludes his work with a remonſtrative appeal to the nations of Europe, in behalf of injured virtue and humanity, in which theſe very appropriate reflections occur on the deplorable character of his countrymen.

"Your libraries expoſe to the dazzled ſight the ſhining garments of wiſdom and of civilization; your laws, manners and, cuſtoms, every where diſplay to the aſtoniſhed eye the foul ſhreds of barbariſm."—"The leaſt labour diſheartens you; you never find in yourſelves either patience, courage, money, or arms, for a long enterprize: confiding in Providence, that has treated you too well, nevertheleſs, ungrateful and outraging it unceaſingly, you abandon to time the care of civilizing yourſelves!"

The great improbability of the author's plan ever being reduced to practice, renders all inquiry reſpecting its practical utility of little importance. It ought to be remarked, however, that much as he has ſaid about peace and humanity, he is ſilent on the grand ſentiment that ennobles man, the principle of juſtice. The idea of juſtice, indeed, we muſt repeat it, is foreign to the minds of Frenchmen. Nor is it morally poſſible, that there ſhould be either juſtice or truth, where there is neither integrity nor ſincerity. It is no leſs impoſſible to find ſincerity where it has become an uniform principle of action to make propoſitions, from which very oppoſite concluſions may be drawn, without ſubjecting their author to the charge of inconſiſtency. Knowing, as we do, the general aſcendancy of the truly Gallic ſpirit of *double-dealing*, which in leſs verſatile characters would be deſignated *low cunning*, we ſhould not be ſurpriſed if M. Laverne ſhould publiſh an *eloge* on his Imperial maſter, in which he would demonſtrate

ſtrate that his conduct was the very perfection of his principles of unity and balance. It is not indeed very improbable, notwithſtanding all he has advanced reſpecting the importance of a political equilibrium, that he ſtill wiſhes for ſuch a balance only as might be ſuſpended on the arm of Imperial France. But we fear not the arch-enemy of mankind; his rapid exaltation, but indicates his perilous ſituation and eventually inevitable ruin, which promiſe that juſtice and the inſulted laws of nations ſhall be yet reſtored to the injured ſtates of the earth. The author's ſtyle is dry, prolix, and diſguſtingly full of repetition; but his work has the rare merit of being free from all vulgar obſcenity or groſs immorality.

It has been ſaid, on emigrant authority, that Buonaparté ordered the author of this volume to the Temple, there to be kept on bread and water till his ſword ſhould eſtabliſh the real balance of power in the Empire of Europe, but we cannot give implicit faith to ſuch reports.

Statiſque Elementaire.—Elements of the Statiſtics of France, containing the Principles of that Science, and their Application to the Analyſis of the Wealth, Strength, and Power of the French Empire. By J. Peuchet. Pp. 630. 8vo. 12s. Paris, 1805. Imported by Deconchy.

NO ſchemes are more impoſing, no allegations more pompous, no inferences more deluſive than many of thoſe founded in ſpeculations on commerce, finance, and population. It is not, therefore, ſurpriſing that numbers ſhould publiſh, and ſtill more be duped by ſuch effuſions. The talents neceſſary to a good ſtatiſt are alſo thoſe that are eſſential to a good ſtateſman, whoſe quickneſs and depth of comprehenſion, impartiality and ſtrength of judgment, profound knowledge of human nature, and facility of language, are found in a very limited number of individuals throughout the civilized world. The arduouſneſs of the ſubject has not, however, prevented many ignorant but bold ſpeculators from proclaiming diſaſter and ruin on the one hand, and on the other, ſucceſs and power beyond all law human or divine. Some have malignantly announced the ruin of their country, and were ſpeedily diſappointed; others again with principles equally baſe, and opinions no leſs erroneous, have repreſented the wealth, the power, magnificence, and glory of their country as multiplying beyond all calculation, as ſurpaſſing all eſtimates hitherto known in the annals of civil ſociety. Of this latter claſs is our preſent author, J. Peuchet, and all the numberleſs French writers on what they have learned to call the ſcience of ſtatiſtics, which they reluctantly acknowledge that they have entirely borrowed from the Engliſh. When we remember the reception that ſuch ſpeculations met with from vulgar credulity in our own country, and on our domeſtic concerns, we are the better prepared to juſtly appreciate them, and to expoſe their fallacious pretenſions, not only to the minds of Engliſhmen, but to every rational being throughout the

the Chriſtian world. That theſe extravagant and falſe exaggerations have contributed to create and augment not only the imaginary but the phyſical power of France cannot be doubted; and Frenchmen have literally *huzzaed* their country into a conſequence that it otherwiſe never could have attained, and which even yet reſts on no more permanent a baſis than vulgar credulity. We ſhall proceed to examine the work before us, which is but an abridgment of a much larger one on the ſame ſubject, recently publiſhed by the ſame author, aided by Herbin and others, and if our analyſis and obſervations ſhould correct the wilful miſtatements of theſe writers, our labours will not have been in vain. We think it neceſſary, however, to beg the attention of our readers to ſome facts which we ſhall adduce reſpecting the actual population of France, and aſſure them that they are not mere ſpeculations, but the reſult of our perſonal ſtatiſtical reſearches, during the late truce, throughout the departments of that country now called the French empire.

M. Peuchet, after a long preliminary diſſertation, in which he affects the moſt profound knowledge, and moſt intimate acquaintance with his ſubject, by a review of the writings of all preceding authors, attempts to define what is meant by the word *ſtatiſtic*, and to eſtabliſh it as the name of a particular ſcience, by diveſting it of all extraneous matter referrable to other branches of legiſlation, commerce, or topography. "It is," ſays he, "the ſcience of the real ſtrength and reſources of a political ſtate." But he is unable to give the true etymon of this word, and knows not whether it be derived from *ſtatus*, *ſtatera*, or *ſtadt*, although he has repeatedly attempted to define it by its etymology. The author proceeds to divide his work, at firſt in eight, and afterwards in ten chapters. On the extent of territory, its diviſion into 108 departments and 11 regions, organization civil and religious, population of France, productions of the French territory, induſtry and its products, commerce, revenue and forces of the ſtate. The firſt three chapters on the extent, diviſion, and departments of the French territory, are purely topographical, and contain nothing particular, excepting the moſt extravagant exaggerations of fertility and wealth, and the moſt palpable diminutions of the amount of taxes and rates of taxation. Mr. Young's Tour, in the preſent as well as all preceding works, has furniſhed the baſis of theſe calculations, which give the following eſtimate (p. 73.) of the actual quantity of agricultural territory.—Of ſtrong rich ſoil about 28,218,908 arpents; of moors and heath about 23,355,004 arpents; of chalky ſoil 13,544,904; of gravelly ſoil 3,840,070; of ſtony land 19,016,136; of mountainous land 26,249,394; and of ſandy ſoil 8,303,142; making in all 122,517,564 arpents, or nearly 153,146,955 Engliſh acres, four arpents being about five acres. It is evident that this eſtimate of the number of arpents or acres but ill accords with the ſuperficial dimenſions given of France, its greateſt length being from the Meuſe to the frontiers of Spain, 250 leagues, or 625 Engliſh miles, and its breadth from Straſbourg to Breſt, 210 leagues, or 525 miles. In

a ſubſequent page (178), the author makes the preſent territory of he French empire to contain 32,026 ſquare French leagues (or about 26,688 Engliſh) which amounts to 128,103,000 arpents, not quite ſix millions more than the preceding!! It were vain to criticiſe ſuch eſtimates, as their deſigned deception muſt be ſufficiently apparent, and to expoſe all the miſrepreſentations in each article would require a volume equal to that before us. We ſhall only obſerve, that the true quantity of rich ſoil in France does not perhaps equal one-third of what is here ſtated; ſome parts of Languedoc, Guyenne, Poictiers, banks of the Seine, and certain diſtricts in Burgundy, are all that can be called rich ſoils; and there is almoſt no meadow-land or rich paſture; at leaſt nine-tenths of the whole country conſiſts of very light gravelly land, rocky moors, heaths, under-woods and barren mountains. It is, however, neceſſary to the views of the author to repreſent his country as extremely fertile, in order to give ſome plauſibility to the exiſtence of ſuch an immenſe population as he is pleaſed to ſcatter over it. We paſs over his topography of a 108 (perhaps they may be ſhortly 180) departments, as contemptibly ſuperficial and erroneous. M. Peuchet indeed gives to Flanders a population of 792 perſons per ſquare mile, which is only 384 more than Chaptal publiſhed two years preceding, and is a trifling augmentation in his eſtimation. The general reſult gives to France a population (after admitting ſome over eſtimates) of 34,449,351 individuals on a territory of 32,026 French ſquare leagues, or to each ſquare league 1,075 2-3ds; in another eſtimate, he ſays 1,093 1-3d perſons, who pay in *direct contributions*, on an average, 9 livres, 7 ſous (7s. 10d.) per head. In ſome departments theſe contributions exceed 30 francs to each individual.

It may be neceſſary here to remark that theſe individual *contributions directes* have been egregiouſly miſconceived by many people in this country: they are not a dividend of the whole taxes levied by the French government, as has been erroneouſly ſuppoſed, but are almoſt all of the nature of a pole-tax, which every ſoul in that country muſt pay for liberty to breathe the air, over and above all taxes and duties on the products of induſtry, and the conſumption of the neceſſary articles of life. In addition to this, however, we have another tax to mention, which has never been eſtimated, nor even its exiſtence admitted by the government, but which is very ſenſibly felt by the claſs on which it particularly falls, we mean the expence of paſſports and cards of reſidence, which are neceſſary to all who have not funded property, that is to all who are not houſeholders. Theſe *cards* of *ſurety* and of *reſidence*, as they are uſually denominated, which were deſigned to protect the individual from arreſt and domiciliary viſits of the *gens d'armes*, in republican days were given gratis at the office of the Commiſſary of police; but ſince the acceſſion of Buonaparté *centimes* began to be demanded, and the extortion has continued to increaſe every day, and it is now not uncommon to demand 10 or 12 francs and to receive 5 or 6, for the renewal of a card-

card, which in time of war muſt be had every month. The injuſtice of ſuch a diſcretionary tax, which is levied either according to the ability of the applicant to pay, or his courage to refuſe, may be eaſier felt than deſcribed; but its annual amount, which muſt be very conſiderable, we have no adequate means of aſcertaining. Its nature and actual exiſtence, however, ſhould teach thoſe who murmur at Engliſh taxes, ſomething of what they would have to pay under the dominion of Buonaparté.

The author entertains his readers with a chapter of 140 pages on the political, adminiſtrative, judicial and religious organization of the departments: but as theſe branches had not been *imperialized* when he wrote, and as we have no meaſure for the caprice of a ſucceſsfully ambitious tyrant, we imagine that our readers would be very little amuſed with an examination of this part of the work, which certainly has no relation with ſtatiſtics, according to M. Peuchet's own definition of the term. The ſection on public inſtruction acknowledges, indeed, the actually decaying ſtate of education in France, and the rapid advances of worſe than Gothic ignorance and barbarity. Buonaparté ſtill levies money for public inſtruction, but he knows too well what will better ſuit his perſonal views than that of educating youth, in conſequence of which there is not *one* ſchool out of Paris that has its ſtated number of profeſſors, and in many of the leaſt commercial departments there is not a ſingle public profeſſor! The univerſal penury of the people, and their being forced to pay for learning which is never offered to them, joined to the covetous rapacity of petty ſchoolmaſters, have put almoſt a total ſtagnation to the progreſs of knowledge in that degenerating country. Theſe facts, with the exceſſive ſuperſtition that is the natural follower of infidelity, whilſt they may draw a ſigh from the boſom of the philanthropiſt, ſhould teach the deluded perfectioniſts how vain were their blind ſpeculations on the improvement of man. In utter defiance of all order and conſiſtency, of which the author boaſted in his preface, he has given a meagre outline of the hiſtory of the Univerſity of Paris, and of the revival of learning in the 14th century, with obſervations on the different plans of ſtudy and ſyſtems of education in faſhion from that period till the total abolition of all methods at the revolution. For this deviation, however, there was an important cauſe; it afforded M. Peuchet the occaſion of artfully aſſuming to his country the merit of a knowledge of the Greek language, ſuperior to that of the Italians, in the 13th century. Our aſtoniſhment at the addreſs with which Frenchmen can miſrepreſent facts, and arrogate to themſelves merits to which they have no juſt claim, was ſuddenly changed to a ſmile at the following grave aſſertion, "that all Europe *ought* to be *grateful* to the legiſlators who re-eſtabliſhed religion in France!!" This is doubtleſs a new debt of gratitude for the Europeans, but before it becomes payable it is incumbent on the author to prove that they have alſo eſtabliſhed the principles of common honeſty, and then and only then, may they claim the grateful ſuffrage of plundered and oppreſſed nations,

The chapter on Population, of all the compilations that have appeared on that fertile ſubject, appears to be the moſt ſuperficial, and the moſt deſtitute of all ſcientific reſearch, or originality of conception that has yet been publiſhed. From this huge maſs of extracts from other writers we ſhall briefly extract the general reſults.

"The actual number of inhabitants in France, according to our author, is 34,976,313, or in round numbers, 35 millions, diſtributed in the proportion of 1093 3-32ds individuals to each French ſquare league. The proportion of births are as 1 to 25 or 25½ of the entire population: one fifth of the children born are illegitimate: proportion of marriages to the population, as 1 to 132 2-3ds, and of births, 4 to each marriage. It appears that in the ſouthern provinces 10 marriages give annually 44 births in the towns, and only 42 in the country.* In the ſame region it is admitted that the births exceed the deaths in the country, 1-28th; but that in the towns the deaths ſurpaſs the births 1-12th: (a circumſtance that indicates a decaying population). The average number of deaths annually is eſtimated as 1 to 30 1-10th of the population, or that 30 1-10th individuals are born for every 28 3-10ths that die, (an eſtimate that we ſhall prove to be unſupported by facts). For every 20 female children born there are 21 males; but the deaths of the males exceed thoſe of the females 1-19th, not including the deaths in the army. From an exact enumeration (ſays our author) it reſults that the females conſtitute 9-17ths of the population, or 33 men to 34 women. The military conſcriptions amount annually to 60,000 men, or 1-127th part of the entire population fit to carry arms, that is to ſay, 1-127th part of the marriageable claſs is annually annihilated to ſociety by military conſcription. In another calculation founded on the more rational baſis of M. Pomelles, it is admitted that 1-17th of this claſs is every year converted into ſoldiers, without including the ſailors and marines."

The above is all that we have been able to collect correctly from our author's incoherent and very imperfect labours on the population of his country. It is neceſſary, however, to remember that all theſe eſtimates are merely coloured a little in favour of political views from thoſe of Necker and Pomelles made before the revolution, and during the moſt flouriſhing period of a long peace in France. This fact is, indeed, ſtudiouſly concealed by M. Peuchet, among the numerous eſtimates of the 7th, 9th, 10th, and 11th years, &c.; and in one inſtance, only is it acknowledged that according to Necker the number of marriages was as 1 to 113 3-4ths, when at preſent it is as 1 to 132 2-3ds only. Beginning, however, with our author at the actual po-

* This preſumed fact has perplexed all the French writers on population ſince the revolution. It is not, however, difficult to conceive that the hard labour to which the country-women are now reduced for want of men to cultivate the earth, muſt contribute conſiderably to obſtruct the operations of nature, and conſequently diminiſh the number of births. There is alſo another cauſe; the miſery and deſperation of country-women, who have ſeen all their male relations and friends torn from them to be made ſoldiers, have often impelled them to the horried reſolution of deſtroying all their male offspring! Dreadful to relate, they ſtill juſtify this monſtrous act as the effect of humanity and the leſſer evil!

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pulation of France, that he occaſionally eſtimates in round numbers at 34 millions, which are extended over a territory in the proportion, according to Peuchet, of 1093 1-3d individuals to each French ſquare league. Necker, whoſe aim was to raiſe the finances, exaggerated the population, and ſucceeded in 1784 in making the French believe that the numbers and reſources of their country were almoſt incalculable, and by this trick on their national vanity, ſoon filled the treaſury of France. He gave to each ſquare league a population of 916 ſouls. Pomelles, five years after Necker's eſtimate, calculated the population with a view to augment the military levies, and could only give 905 ſouls (we omit fractions where they do not materially effect the argument) to each ſquare league. At the ſame period (1789) he calculated upon a population above 25 millions, of whom 14 were females, and 11 males; of theſe males not quite 1½ million were capable of bearing arms, and even of theſe 1-17th was infirm. Thus, after deducting the number of infirm, of nobles, eccleſiaſtics, regular troops and marines, the effective military population amounted to no more than 600,000 individuals: yet even this number is above what really exiſted, as the perſons fit to be drawn annually for the militia amounted only to 358,811. Since 1789, all the nobles, eccleſiaſtics and rich merchants have been totally cut off, notwithſtanding which, our author makes the number of ſouls in each ſquare league in France to have increaſed, during 13 years of war and the moſt horrid maſſacres, from 905 to 1093 1-3d, or above 1-5th of the entire population: a calculation at which even credulity herſelf would revolt. Yet ſuch is the baſis, ſuch the real ſtrength of the commonly ſuppoſed gigantic power of France! We have, however, other data to prove the artful deception of French ſtatiſts, and to eſtabliſh the true number of the actual population of the French empire, or of its 108 departments. In 1801 (the moſt tranquil year ſince the revolution) Chaptal, then miniſter of the interior, publiſhed tables of all the births throughout the republic, which amounted only to 955,977; this number, taken by their own rule as 1-25th of the entire inhabitants, gives a population of 22,799,425, which, with the eſtimate of our author of 3,145,293, for the inhabitants on the Rhine, Piedmont, Genoa, and other recent annexations, demonſtrate that, the real number of people in the country called the French empire, is no more than 25,944,718, or in round numbers 26 millions of ſouls. This number, we have both moral and phyſical evidence to aſſert, is conſiderably greater than the truth, however contrary it may be to what our readers have hitherto been taught to believe. It is even demonſtrable by another proceſs, the relative population of cities and towns to that of the country. The Conſtituent Aſſembly made the proportion between the city and country population as 1 to 3½; M. Bouvalles-Deſbroſſes as 1 to 2 6-7ths, and M. Lavoiſier, as 8 to 17. Although we are well aſſured that the population of towns is at leaſt one third of the whole nation, we ſhall take it even below any of theſe eſtimates, at one fourth. The tables publiſhed by Herbin in 1802, contains an enumeration of all the inhabi-

tants of the cities and towns which have more than 1000 perſons in the territory of France, including the Low Countries, left Bank of the Rhine, Porentruy, Geneva, Savoy, county of Nice, Province of Avignon, all except Piedmont and Genoa; in which, tables the total number of citizens riſes only to 5,405,119. This number multiplied by 4, the proportion of citizens to peaſants, gives a population of 21,620,476, and the inhabitants of Piedmont, Genoa, iſland of Elba, &c. to the number of 1,864,351, make the actual population of the French empire, only 23,484,827, or in whole numbers 24 millions of ſouls. We think that theſe, facts fairly deduced from the ſtatement of the authors themſelves, muſt convince every reaſoning being that the enormous force of France rather conſiſts in vain boaſtings, childiſh fears, and extravagant lies, than in real phyſical ſtrength.

In taking the population of all the chief towns of France that contain more than 1000 inhabitants, as one fourth of the entire population, according to various and diſcordant eſtimates, we would not be underſtood to believe that the tables publiſhed in 1802 under the direction of the miniſters Abrial and Chaptal are correct; on the contray, we know that many of the towns (Bourdeaux, Merſailles, &c.) are ſtated to contain at leaſt one third more than the truth. Yet theſe ſame tables have been tranſlated into Engliſh and commented on as ſacred truths. But it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that the inhabitants of towns, not only of France but of this country, conſtitute rather more than one fourth of the population; this is more particularly the ſtate of France, where the people, perhaps in obedience to their natural diſpoſition, are all aſſembled either in large towns or villages; and, except in a very few diſtricts, eſpecially in Languedoc, and ſome other parts adjoining chief or maritime cities, there are no farm-houſes, nor gentlemen's country-ſeats to conſtitute a rural or agricultural population as in this country. The ſpacious and cheerleſs champaigns of France offer not either the ruſtic cot, the abode of virtue, induſtry, and contented health, or the plenteous farm-yard teeming with the fruits of the earth, but here and there the fatigued view perceives the ruinated village, the tottering receptacles of penury, filthineſs, ignorance, ferocity, and every vice!

M. Peuchet ſtates that in certain diſtricts the proportion of the population to the annual births is as 1 to 28½, but ſeems to depend more on the opinions of Necker and Pomelles already noticed. The proportion of illegitimate to legitimate births he is reluctant to aſcertain, and only offers ſome very vague general alluſions, intimating that it varies from 3 to 9; but we know that in many towns, eſpecially in the South, there has been from one half to one fourth of all the births illegitimate. The author here preſents us with a proof of his incapacity for a legiſlator, and his falſe principles as a moraliſt, by objecting to the epithet legitimate children, as "tending to throw on the others a perſonal demerit, as unjuſt as falſe in its principle." In this he confounds legal or political with perſonal demerit, the former of which is ſo eſſential to the preſervation of order in ſociety. There

is, however, more justness in his observations on Buonaparté's marriage-law, which absurdly prohibits persons of 40, 50, or even 100 years of age to marry without the previous consent of their parents or relations; and this too, according to our author, even were they all dead or in foreign countries! This is no doubt one of Buonaparté's left handed plans to foster morality. When the illegitimate children, on an average, amounted to one fourth the entire births during the period that marriages and divorces were so easily effected, what may now be expected when both are much more restricted, and the former especially to an extent never before known in any civilized age or country. It is, indeed, admirably adapted to his ambitious views* to have *intriguantes*, and the fearful mind of a cruel and jealous tyrant can find no SPIES equal to *femmes soutenues!* It appears, however, from the confessions of the author, that, notwithstanding the facilities of marriage by the republican laws, or rather by the negation of all law, marriages have decreased nearly one fifth since the revolution; add to this that at some periods one half the marriages terminated in divorce. These facts are satisfactory proof that the births either legitimate or illegitimate, could not have increased since the revolution, as all the republican and imperial writers attempt to assert; for although there are instances in France of women rearing families of 3 or even 4 children all by different men, yet it is physically certain that concubinage and indiscriminate amour must ever diminish the total number of births in proportion to their extent. This diminution may be estimated, from the examination of numerous documents, in the ratio of from 1-ninth to $\frac{1}{4}$th the entire number of births in the state.

With respect to the proportion of deaths to the actual population, our author's account is extremely confused, vague and inconsistent. He labours to prove that the births exceed the deaths, and quotes Chaptal's calculation of the 9th year (1801) in which he estimated that they exceeded about 1-ninth; but this excess of births is much less than that of London every year; and even were it true, which we know that it is not, it would not establish the truth of the supposed increase of population. Not contented, however, with the suppositious estimate of Chaptal (or more properly the project of his *femme*) artfully contrived to serve his political views, the author endeavours to establish the present on the past proportion of deaths, and takes the estimate of Pomelles, who wished only to augment the military levies. From that estimate he infers that the births of males exceed the deaths 1-eleventh, and the females 1-twelfth; total 2-23ds. The falsity of

* This plan is also favorable to the augmentation of Conscripts who now marry early to avoid being instantly dragged into the army. It will however, soon effect the depopulation of the country; and it is a circumstance consoling to humanity that the very instruments of blood-thirsty tyranny invariably become the means of its utter ruin.

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this inference will be evident from the following declaration. "In all the towns of France the balance between the births and deaths of males is abſolutely the ſame; but in the country there is one-ninth more. As to the females, the overplus of births is 1-77th in the towns, and 1-10th in the country." The preſumed overplus of males, according to Chaptal, even if admitted, is only one-ninth of three-fourths of one half 1-24th the entire births, and does not amount to half the number of ſoldiers taken annually and converted to a life of celibacy or debauchery, in other words totally loſt to the purpoſes of population. It ought alſo to be remembered that a deduction of 1-24th is the very leaſt poſſible for caſualties and emigrations* of males more than females. With this moſt neceſſary deduction, we ſhall find the people of France have decreaſed and are decreaſing much more rapidly than Engliſhmen, who have not explored the interior parts of the country, will believe.

M. Peuchet is ſtill more embarraſſed to conceal the very extraordinary number of females† in proportion to males. He is obliged to acknowledge that the number of deaths of males is much greater than that of females, independent of the loſs in the army, marine and emigration. On this head he has furniſhed but little, and what he has done is very contemptible. We ſhall mention ſome facts that may tend to illuſtrate this point. Mourgue, the only French writer who has attentively obſerved facts, and diſcovered a philoſophical mind in arranging them (the latter has been improved by his ſtudy of Engliſh authors on the ſame ſubject) has obſerved at Montpellier, the moſt ſalubrious part of France, that the births of males exceed that of females, but that one fourth of the entire births die the firſt, and one half before the 5th year. Of this half that die before completing the 5th year, 2-5ths are females, and 3-5ths males; a fact which renders the number of females greatly ſuperior to that of males. The ſame author calculates the mean term of men's lives at 24 years, 3 months, 15 days and 8 hours: that of women's at 28 years, 3 months, 28 days and 18 hours. If ſuch a difference exiſts at Montpellier, and we cannot doubt it, how much more conſiderable muſt it be in the leſs ſalubrious parts of France. To the above conſiderations

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* We might here mention the regular emigration into Spain. In 1804, it was aſcertained that about 110,000 men, and 8000 women were enrolled by means of their paſſports in that country; and that many more had ſettled there for life, renouncing their claims to the privileges of French citizens. In Portugal alſo are great numbers of French adventurers.

† In accounting for the decay of agriculture, he aſcribes it in part to "the *diminution* of the relative population of males and females in certain places;" and obſerves that the "ſuppreſſion of the convents of women" has rendered that ſex ſo much more numerous. Doubtleſs this is a very ſage reaſon for having almoſt two women to one man; but does the author ſuppoſe that Necker and others forgot to enumerate the *nuns!!*

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we ſhall add, that during the reigns of terror and atheiſm, above three years, at leaſt one half of all the male children born were maſſacred. This perhaps will be deemed both incredible and too horrible to be believed; yet many French calculators have aſſerted that during that period not leſs than one half (our ſtatement is only 1-4th) of all the children born were inſtantly murdered! It ought to be remembered that *infanticide* was inculcated as a virtue, and that thoſe who are not perfectly acquainted with the real character of Frenchwomen, ought not to argue from what they know to be poſſible or probable in this country. Taking, therefore, one half of the male children for three years we have 1-8th of the whole male inhabitants exterminated: this deduction, made from the 11 millions of males in France before the revolution, leaves, in round numbers, $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions, from which ſubtract three (many will have it 5) millions of men deſtroyed by the ſword and guillotine, and there remains in the ancient territory of France only $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions of males. To this we ſhall add 2 millions for the conquered countries, that gives the actual number of the male inhabitants of the country now called the French empire, $8\frac{1}{2}$ or at moſt 9 millions. As to the female inhabitants, out of the 14 millions before the revolution (an eſtimate nearly equal to that of Pomelles) at leaſt one million has been maſſacred, and nearly 3 have been added by the conquered countries, that carries the preſent population of France to 16 millions of females, and 9 of males. Of this 9, after deducting for children, old men and diſeaſed, it will not be poſſible to ſuppoſe more than *one* capable of bearing arms. Hence, it is evident, that Buonaparté by a levy *en maſſe* in France could not at the preſent day, raiſe above a million of effective men in arms.

We could adduce a multiplicity of facts and obſervations to prove the correctneſs of this eſtimate, but that we have already extended this article to an unuſual length. We muſt, however, mention with regard to the great diſparity between the proportion of the ſexes, that we are convinced that the actual number of females is rather more, and that of males rather leſs, than what we have here ſtated. In every department of France we found but very few men, and always abundance of women cultivating the earth and emp'oyed at the ſame trades and labour as the men are in this country. Of the very ſmall number of children there, the females are at leaſt two to one of the males every where. Families rarely exceed the number of three children; a boy and two girls, and between the ages of theſe there are generally from 3 to 5 or 6 years. Notwithſtanding theſe facts, which are palpable to the commoneſt obſerver, M. Peuchet has the temerity to repreſent the number of male inhabitants at $16\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and the females at $17\frac{1}{2}$. But we have before indicated his motives; and we would only beg leave to obſerve, that artfully exaggerated power, and artificial credit are important agents in the commerce of the world, and that the former may lead to real phyſical ſtrength, and the latter effect the accumulation of the moſt permanent wealth.

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We omit the author's endleſs repetitions of the internal wealth and commerce of his country, of its riches, mines, &c. &c. ſubjects which have long been of important ſervice to French book-makers, not one of whom has ſufficient ſtrength of mind and rectitude of judgment to diſcuſs ſuch complex affairs. All that he has ſaid worth reading on the agricultural products is taken from Mr. A. Young. To thoſe who admire every thing they cannot underſtand, we would recommend the peruſal of the eſtimate of the average conſumption of bread and meat in pounds weight in Paris, reduced to the annual quantity neceſſary for every individual as well in Paris as throughout all France. The ſubject is curious, but treated, notwithſtanding the work of Lavoiſier, in a manner the moſt ſuperficial and unintereſting. The author in the midſt of all the ſplendour of French manufactures, (ſplendid indeed, at the Louvre and on paper) is obliged to confeſs that the hat-manufacturies are almoſt totally annihilated in France. We are next preſented with ſomething that affects to be a hiſtory of watch-making, but of which the author evinces the moſt conſummate ignorance. He gravely obſerves that "France is generally conſidered as the cradle of watch-making," but in the next line informs us that, in 1718, when it was propoſed to eſtabliſh a manufactory at Verſailles, it was neceſſary to bribe Engliſh workmen to go to France and ſettle there. It is alſo aſſerted that French watches have now "attained a point of perfection almoſt equal to thoſe of the Engliſh in elegance and *exactitude*, and *ſuperior in ſolidity*." Poor Peuchet, *ſolidity* is the very laſt property that you ſhould have beſtowed either on your countrymen or their handiwork! With equal accuracy has he eſtimated the quantity of ſpecie in Europe, in which he ſuppoſes that the ſpecie of this country amounts only to 60 francs (50s.) to each perſon, while that of France comes to 69¼ francs! He admits, however, that the *contributions directes*, the pole taxes, amounted laſt year to 12¼ francs, or 10s. 6d. each perſon, independent of all the enormous duties upon every article of neceſſaries, food and raiment, as well as luxuries. But we are ſick of the ignorance, the wilful miſrepreſentation, and direct falſehoods with which every page of this work abounds. The world certainly cannot long be deceived by ſuch weak but hitherto too ſucceſsful ſchemes to ſubjugate Europe, by boaſting of really poſſeſſing the power and influence which they hope by this artifice to obtain. Formerly Frenchmen called themſelves the moſt ingenious people, the inventors of Europe; they are now generally known to be the leaſt ſo: they alſo affected to be the moſt humane, they are now unequivocally the moſt ſavage: they at preſent proclaim their unlimited political power, but a nation ſunk in the groſſeſt vices muſt be found to be really deficient both in phyſical and mental force.

Annals

Annales de l'Empire Français, par une Société de Gens de Lettres; rédigées par R. De Beaunoir et A. H. Dampmartin. A Paris, et à Strasbourg. 1805. Tome I. Première Année. Pp. 548. 8vo.
Annals of the French Empire, &c. &c. Vol. I.

IN the grade below the historian stands the annalist. While it is the duty of the one to relate with propriety and dignity the occurrences of the epoch which he proposes to illustrate, to exhibit with fidelity and distinctness the state of society during the various periods of his history, and to display with sincerity and skill the motives, the causes, and the consequences of the events which he records, it is his privilege to adorn the sobriety of his narrative with striking and well-sketched portraits, and to embellish it with bold and vivid pictures: and it is his object to expand the mind by the grandeur and sublimity of his conceptions, to inform it by the correctness and soundness of his opinions, to edify it by the acuteness and energy of his reasonings, to enrich it by the ingenuity and the profoundness of his reflections, to enlighten it by the rectitude and the wisdom of his decisions, to exalt it by the purity of his principles, to please it by the simplicity of his taste, to charm it by the elegance of his language, and to captivate it by the eloquence of his style. To the annalist belongs the humbler task of providing materials for the labours of the historian. It is his province to record with the utmost exactness, with the strictest impartiality, and in a manner so plain, so clear, and so distinct, that they can never be misunderstood, all the facts which have taken place during the term assigned to his work: he must describe with minuteness the circumstances which attended their occurrence, because it is only by such explicit details that a complete knowledge of their character is to be obtained: he must preserve with care all authentic and official documents, both public and private, which relate to matters of general concernment, because it is by declarations of that kind that the motives and objects of action are to be discovered: In all cases of doubt, uncertainty, or dispute, he must compare the contradictory testimony, examine the evidence, and decide upon the truth. As his purpose is to enable posterity to form a just and accurate estimate of his own times, he must transmit to them every thing essential to elucidate the state of man and of society: for this purpose he must mark all the changes in politics, religion, morals, and manners; he must note all the improvements in the sciences, and in the useful and agreeable arts; and he must particularly observe the gradations in the progress of language, because it is by those that future generations may discern the advancement or the debasement of the human mind. Opinions and judgments, except upon matters of fact, are not required of him: his office is confined to the collection, arrangement, and preservation of whatever may contribute to convey to after-ages the means of obtaining a complete knowledge of the events of the present time, and the materials for forming a faithful picture of the present

preſent ſtate of mankind. Though he requires leſs ſplendid talents than the hiſtorian, his intellectual attainments and his mental powers muſt be of a high and ſuperior order. To liberal and enlarged views he muſt add ſolid and extenſive information; to a ſound and vigorous underſtanding, unwearied vigilance, and unceaſing induſtry; and to an invincible love of truth, a juſt, diſcriminating, and almoſt unerring judgment.

It is generally ſuppoſed, that works of this claſs need only the mind of a common drudge, who can compile whole volumes of hiſtory, with the aid of a file of newſpapers and a pair of ſciſſars; and it muſt be confeſſed, that an examination of the merit of moſt compilations is calculated to ſtrengthen this miſtaken opinion. The public ſhould recollect, however, that the preſs is, to the utter degradation of letters, excluſively under the controul of bookſellers, who too frequently have no other object in view, by the publication of books, but the advancement of their own fortunes *. Books are printed, not to diſſeminate information among the community, but to bring guineas into the coffers of the venders; and the bulk of mankind, whom purſuits more congenial with their own ſelfiſh diſpoſitions have rendered indifferent to literature, purchaſe them, not for the knowledge which they contain, but to fill the ſhelves of thoſe great libraries which their vanity has prompted them to form. Books, therefore, as they are no longer publiſhed or purchaſed for the ſake of their literary excellence, begin to be eſtimated by the value of the paper, the printing, and the binding:—ſo many pages for ſo many ſhillings. The crafty bookſeller, eager only for gain, turns this folly of the public to his own advantage, and, by the very conduct which he purſues, renders it perpetual. It is no longer neceſſary for him to ſeek for men of genius and talents, whoſe diligent ſtudy and whoſe extraordinary merit it would be neceſſary for him to reward with rather more liberality than he does the labours of his printer or his binder: a crowd of low fellows, whom the incorrigible ſluggiſhneſs of their diſpoſitions has unfitted for every other trade to which they have applied, ſtand ready at his door, and, willing to adapt themſelves completely to his purpoſes, expreſs their readineſs to make books for him by the ſheet. By this juggle it is that the public is impoſed upon. Theſe bookmakers, who, perhaps of all men, are the moſt ignorant and the moſt impudent, ſet down to their labours like taylors or ſhoemakers, and, equally provided with tools, cut up their materials, put them together,

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* To this there are exceptions. Among the bookſellers of the preſent time, there are ſome, both in Great Britain and upon the Continent, who, to an incorruptible integrity and an honourable liberality, add a taſte for letters, and a zeal for the intereſts of learning; and were we not reſtrained by motives of delicacy to their feelings, we could mention the names of ſome whom Horace would have been proud to rank with the Socii and Quintilian with his favourite Trypho.

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and finish their job. With such convenient instruments as these, the press is rendered completely subservient to the interests of the trade. The bookseller, by a little foresight, may always be ready with his supply for the season; because, having settled the form and size of the work which he proposes to publish, he has only to divide the number of pages which it is to contain by the number which these book-makers can turn out in a day, and he has the exact number of days or months which it will require to prepare it for the press. Literary composition being thus made dependent, not on genius, or science, but upon the dexterity of the fingers, is rendered completely a mechanical art; the reward which is due to the exertions of men of real talents is bestowed upon the adroitness and industry of these manufacturers; and the public taste being corrupted by this never-ending succession of false models, the community at large becomes the willing dupe of the rapacity of these base and sordid knaves. It is time, however, that this odious and dishonourable trade, so disgraceful to learning, and so injurious to the public, were abolished. It is the porvince of a critic to watch over the administration of letters, and it is his duty to put a stop to such shameless iniquity; and though, from various causes, we have hitherto been prevented from attending, with proper vigilance and with necessary rigour, to this important part of our charge, we now warn this groveling tribe of impostors, that, henceforth, we will set our faces against their baneful practices; that we will strip them of the delusive garb which has so long hidden their stupidity from the world, and hold them up to that indignant contempt which mankind has always so liberally bestowed upon ignorant, unprincipled, and impudent pretenders to literature.

Let it not be supposed, however, that these observations, which the mention of the book-making fraternity has drawn from us, are applicable to the editors of the work now before us: on the contrary, we are willing to bear testimony to the respectability of their literary character. The principal director of the undertaking, M. de Beaunoir, is known as a man of some genius, of no little taste, and of considerable information; and his associate, M. Dampmartin, has acquired some reputation, as the author of several works of secondary importance, which he has published upon various occasions. We speak here only of their reputation as men of letters: of their political opinions we know but little, and that little we cannot honestly commend. They profess a strong attachment to monarchy, and to an energetic government; but, from the gross adulation which they lavish upon Buonaparté, to whom no man of an upright mind, whatever may be his opinions, can pay homage, we are compelled to believe that this eulogium upon a vigorous administration is intended only as a compliment to his tyranny, and that it arises from that meanness of character which, having no settled opinion of its own, eagerly embraces that which appears most likely to promote its interests, or from that servile pliancy of disposition which, with equal zeal and with equal sincerity, always praises the ruling power. We wish not

to judge with undue ſeverity; but we muſt candidly avow our opinion, and though it is not very honourable to their integrity, we think it ſuch as their conduct fairly and fully juſtifies.

This work, it ſeems, has been long projected; but the editors, aware of the difficulties which would attend its execution, poſtponed it until time had matured their judgement, and until the ſtorms of the revolution had ſubſided; and they now chooſe for its commencement "the epoch when France, ſhining with a new ſplendour, riſes from the midſt of heaps of ruins." Senſible of the magnitude of the taſk which they have undertaken, and diffident of their own powers, they enter upon it with a determination to ſpare no pains to accompliſh it, and with a modeſt hope of ſucceſs. In "the preliminary diſcourſe," and "Introduction," which are prefixed to the work, they have fully ſtated the object of their annals, the manner in which they will be compiled, and the means which they poſſeſs of rendering them worthy of the public patronage. We have extracted thoſe paſſages, in which theſe ſtatements are contained; and in which the reader, if he poſſeſs only a moderate ſhare of ſagacity, will diſcover a ſufficient indication of the principles, the ſentiments, the views, and the intentions of the editors, to enable him to foreſee the exact degree of merit which the work will poſſeſs. For our own parts, though we are not accuſtomed to judge haſtily, or without ſufficient evidence, we confeſs that the "Preliminary Diſcourſe" and this "Introduction" have ſo far decided our opinion upon the ſubject, that we ſhall be wholly diſappointed if the compilation of theſe volumes of Annals ſhould be conducted with a ſufficient regard to truth to anſwer any of the purpoſes for which we think that ſpecies of writing is intended.

"My purpoſe," ſays M. de Beaunoir (Prel. Diſ. p. xii.), "in writing my Annals is not to ſet myſelf up as a judge of men and events; but to paint the one ſuch as they are, and to relate the others as they have happened; and, in ſhort, to reſemble, in every thing, the portrait which La Harpe has drawn of the hiſtorian of the twelve Cæſars:—

'Suetonius is ſcrupulouſly exact, and rigorouſly methodical. He omits nothing which concerns the man whoſe life he writes. He relates every thing, but he paints nothing. He is properly an anecdotiſt, if I may uſe the expreſſion, but very curious to be read and to be conſulted. We laugh at that attention, upon which he piques himſelf, to the moſt trivial things; but frequently we are not ſorry to find it. If he mentions hear ſays he does not vouch for them. If he abounds in details, he is ſober in reflexions. His ſole province is that of narrator. From his indifference ariſes a well founded prejudice in favour of his impartiality: he neither loves nor hates perſonally any of the men of whom he ſpeaks; he leaves it to the reader to judge them.

"May I reſemble this portrait! For that I will, at leaſt, exert my endeavours, and that will bound all my ambition.

"I muſt, however, pay to my co-operators my tribute of acknowlegement. M. Dampmartin, author of the hiſtory of the Rivalry of Carthage and Rome, has undertaken the moſt ungrateful part of my work. Before I commenced the Annals of the Empire, it was neceſſary to give a knowledge

ledge of the French from their firſt eſtabliſhment among the Gauls to the preſent time; to elucidate the earlier ages, and to exhibit the long train of kings who have occupied the throne, and havegiven to France the firſt rank among the powers of Europe. His ſummary appears to me to have completely fulfilled this difficult taſk.

"It was not leſs eſſential to make known the poſitive ſtate of France at the moment when Napoleon exalted it above all other empires. It was therefore neceſſary to draw an exact picture of its ſtate, population, ſtrength, conſtitution, legiſlation, religion, manners, finances, commerce, ſcience, literature and arts. All theſe articles have been liberally furniſhed by men of letters and artiſts of reputation, whoſe modeſty will allow me only to diſtinguiſh their pieces by the initial letters of their names.

"It appears to me equally neceſſary to give the general political and phyſical ſtate of Europe, at the time when Napoleon came to regulate its deſtinies, and to offer an impartial parallel between our ſituation and that of the nation which is always the rival of France, which is always jealous of our glory, which hates us from envy, and which we are great enough to eſteem without loving.

"The acceſſion of Napoleon to the empire is the firſt picture which I ſhall preſent; but I cannot draw it without giving a knowledge of this extraordinary man, for whom, two thouſand years ago, Virgil appears to have made this diſtich:—

'Nocte pluit tota, redeunt ſpectacula mane:
'Diviſum imperium cum Jove Cæſar habet.'

"I will therefore follow, ſtep by ſtep, the career of this hero, from the moment of his birth to the day when he aſcended the throne which he had raiſed more firm and more brilliant from its ruins, and the foundation of which he ſecures for ever by the happy union of arms, law, and religion. I will make known the votes of the nation: I will deſcribe the ceremonies of his auguſt conſecration, of which hiſtory furniſhes no example. I will be particularly careful to accompany my recitals with all thoſe public acts and all thoſe authentic pieces which command the confidence of poſterity, and by which it pronounces its judgements.

"It was my purpoſe to include all theſe objects in the firſt volume. The extent of the ſummary of the hiſtory of the French not permitting it, we have determined to publiſh a ſecond volume in the courſe of the preſent year, after which a volume will appear every year, joining to the recital of political and literary events, the necrology of thoſe celebrated men of every claſs whom death may ſnatch from France, and private anecdotes ſufficiently intereſting to excite and ſatisfy the curioſity of our readers."

To explain the nature of the work, perhaps, nothing more is neceſſary than this extract; but to diſplay more fully the principles of its editors, and to enable our readers to judge more accurately of the ſpirit by which it will be diſtinguiſhed, we have thought it proper to lay before them ſome parts of the "introduction."

"Hiſtory" ſays M. Dampmartin [Introduction P. 1.] preſents to the attentive obſerver no political phenomenon ſo worthy of fixing his attention as the foundation of the French empire. After fifteen years of unfortunate experiments, fatal diſorders, and violent ſtorms, we reſtore the true baſis, of ſocial order, we return to the only ſources of the happineſs of a people,

religion, the unity of power, and its hereditary ſucceſſion. The empire p. 3] has for its chief a man who, hitherto, has never had a model, and upon whoſe merits poſterity alone can decide. Hatred, now, ſhoots her envenomed darts without ſucceſs; flattery exhauſts itſelf in ineffectual efforts; but impartiality does not pronounce his name without experiencing emotions of enthuſiaſm.

"Our regeneration forms the moſt commanding of ſpectacles; kings and people contemplate it with aſtoniſhment mixed with admiration: our implacable enemies tremble with anger and fear. As for ourſelves, too great, too generous to abuſe our coloſſal powers, our ſole ambition will be to give peace and happineſs to the earth. It is to the Emperor of the French that henceforth belongs the right which was formerly the lot of Rome the miſtreſs of the world, that of protecting the feeble, of ſparingthe vanquiſhed, of and combating the proud.

"Happy will be the hiſtorian whom his knowledge and his genius ſhall call to the honour of raiſing a monument which ſhall tranſmit to future ages our commanding deſtinies; national glory and the intereſt of futnre generations forbid that this noble taſk ſhould be abandoned to the hands of vulgar artiſts: the execution of the picture ſhould correſpond with the richneſs of the ſubject.

"Though animated by the moſt ardent zeal, we meaſure with too much exactneſs the extent of our talents, not to be the exempt from all preſumtuous temerity: a juſt diſtruſt therefore forbids us from making the attempt, but our love for our country encourages us to make ſome efforts, which, perhaps, may not be uſeleſs. The architect frequently owes a portion of his ſucceſs to thoſe obſcure workmen who have carefully prepared the materials which he employs."

After announcing this intention of publiſhing every year a volume of "Annals of the French empire," M. Dampmartin proceeds to ſtate the manner in which the work will be conducted. This part of the introduction is neceſſarily, in ſome meaſure a recapitulation of the ſtatement previouſly made by his aſſociate in that part of the preliminary diſcourſe which we have already extracted; he has inſerted, however, ſome judicious obſervations in explanation and in vindication of the courſe which they have avowed their intention to purſue; and, to the mention of this hiſtorical ſummary, he has added ſome deſultory reflections upon the general conduct of the three dynaſties which have occupied the throne of France. This naturally brings him to the recent and preſent ſtate of that country, and conſequently to the idol of his adoration Buonaparté, whom he repreſents as the ſaviour of France, as a man who merits the everlaſting gratitude of all Frenchmen, and who has accompliſhed a work for which future ages will never produce a man equally competent. From the uſurper he paſſes to the family whom he has dethroned; and in a ſtrain of feigned ſympathy worthy the admirer and partizan of that falſe and implacable tyrant, affects to commiſerate the misfortunes of the exiled princes. Thank God, however, calamity has not yet humbled the illuſtrious houſe of Bourbon ſo low that they require the compaſſion of the eulogiſt of Buonaparté! But how mean, and how contemptible muſt be that mind which ſhews its triumph over fallen grandeur

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by the inſolent mockery of pretended pity!—M. D. concludes the introduction by avowing the following principle which he ſays is drawn from the examples of all ages, and which ought to be deeply impreſſed upon the mindsof all French princes:—"that *a king of France, however great may be the amiable qualities which make him beloved by his ſubjects, and however great may be the virtues which recommend him to univerſal veneration, breaks his ſceptre at the very moment when he lays aſide his ſword.*"

From theſe two preliminary papers it is evident that the writers have a juſt notion of the duties of an annaliſt; but it is equally evident that they are deſtitute of the qualities moſt eſſential to the proper performance of thoſe duties. We ſee nothing of that ſpirit of truth, nothing of that liberal impartiality which ought to characterize the writings of thoſe by whoſe repreſentations poſterity is to appreciate the preſent age; but, on the contrary, the whole is marked with a blind prejudice in favour of France, and, as a conſequence of that prejudice, by a mean and diſgraceful hatred for Great Britain, and by a ſervile and extravagant attachment to the uſurper who now fills the throne from which he has driven the lawful monarch, and which he occupies in oppoſition to the wiſhes of every honeſt and good man in the community, in defiance of every principle of juſtice, and in violation of every duty of humanity. Is it to be expected that, with ſuch prejudices and ſuch attachments as theſe, the editors of theſe Annals will produce a work to whcih the ſage and philoſophic hiſtorian can ſafely reſort? No:—the ſtream which they will convey to poſterity will have been poiſoned at its ſource; and thoſe who drink will imbibe the pernicious waters of deception, miſrepreſentation and falſehood. Having really no intentions but the promotion of their own ſelfiſh views, or the accompliſhment of the narrow, baſe and temporary purpoſes of this party, it is eaſy to foreſee that the avowed object of the work will be no more than a cloak to ſcreen their inſidious deſigns from the maſs of mankind, and to impoſe upon future generations. Truth will be ſacrificed without ſcruple when it does not comport with their wiſhes; and all the artifices and tricks which literary men too frequently practiſe to diſguiſe fiction under the ſemblance of reality will be employed to diſtort and diſcolour what it would not be convenient to ſtate juſtly, or what is too generally known to be ſtated falſely. The inſolent, overbearing and oppreſſive conduct of France towards other countries will be commended as the meaſures of a judicious, benevolent and liberal policy; the patriotic, honourable and loyal exertions of thoſe who have laboured for the preſervation of the liberties of the country, and for the reſtoration of its true and rightful ſovereign will be ſtigmatized as the efforts of a worthleſs horde of malcontents, traitors and rebels; and the unexampled baſeneſs, perfidy and cruelty, the unparalleled attrocity of the monſter who has raiſed his iron throne upon ſkulls and bones and mangled bodies, cemented with the blood of millions of innocent victims, will be extolled as the deeds of a hero more magnanimous, a ſtateſman more wiſe, and

Chriſtian more pious than any whom the world has yet ſeen. By this means this work, inſtead of being an honeſt and faithful chronicle, will ſerve only to diſſeminate falſe information, to propagate dangerous opinions and toperpetuate deſtructive errors; we ſhall be belied and our children will be deceived; the diſtorted image which will be impreſſed upon the minds of poſterity will be the hideous repreſentation of the vitiated principles and vile paſſions of a baſe and profligate party; and, inſtead of guiding mankind to virtue, the editors will thus render themſelves deadly enemies to the happineſs of ſociety and officious panders to the moſt odious appeties of human nature.

We judge with a rigour which we think theſe men and their writing have merited; and we ſpeak with a warmth which we think becomes us as zealous advocates for truth. Let no one accuſe us of undue ſeverity. To that honourable prejudice which all loyal men entertain in favour of their country, if indeed the noble virtue of patriotiſm can be called a prejudice, it is well known that we are not nor ever were inimical; and to that laudable attachment which every patriot bears to the eſtabliſhed government of his country, it is well known that we are and ever have been friendly. Nay:—we appeal to the numerous volumes which we have given to the public, whether patriotiſm and loyalty ever found more zealous ſupporters than ourſelves. But to that patriotiſm which is made up of malignity and envy, which hates every country but its own, and which aims at the deſtruction of thoſe of whom it is jealous, which, in the blindneſs of its devotion and animoſity ſees nothing in its own faults but excellencies to praiſe, and nothing in the excellencies of others but faults to condemn, which believes that genius and courage, and honour, and virtue are to be found no where but at home, and that abroad there is none but fools, cowards, knaves and ſcoundrels, and to that loyalty which abbets the murder of its lawful, juſt and amiable king, which extols with every epithet of praiſe the perfidious and cruel uſurper of his throne, and which brands as traitors all who do not willingly ſubmit to his tyrannical and bloody ſway;—to that patriotiſm, and to that loyalty we declare that we always have been, that we now are, and that we truſt we ever ſhall be bold and implacable enemies. Such are the patriotiſm and loyalty of the editors of theſe Annals: they are apparent in their writings; and they will empoiſon every word which flows from their pen. We have, therefore, thought it a duty which we owe both to ourſelves and to poſterity to expoſe and to condemn them.

To palliate the miſrepreſentations of ſuch illiberal and narrow minded bigots, and to countenance the exertions of thoſe citizens of the world who wiſh to introduce among us their ſyſtem of univerſal philanthropy, it may be urged that ſtrict impartiality in relating the tranſactions between rival nations, is wholly unattainable by any man who is ſtrongly prejudiced in favour of either. This we deny. Genuine patriotiſm, that prejudice which we applaud, and which we love, dwells only in the boſoms of men of honour, and men of integrity; and

and ſuch men would ſcorn to diſcolour or to miſrepreſent with as much indignation as they would ſcorn to lie. Every patriot naturally wiſhes his own country to ſtand high in the opinion of the world: but will any good man ſacrifice truth to gain this eſtimation? If he aſſumed the office of an annaliſt or hiſtorian, his records will be faithful and his narratives exact; alike free from theſe ſpecious and ſimulous artifices which are calculated imperceptibly to delude and to miſlead, and from plain and direct falſehoods what rebounds to the honour of his country he will proclaim with energy and zeal, and what is unfavorable to its reputation he will lament; but his duty and his regard for truth, which with him is paramount to every other conſideration, will oblige him to ſtate, with equal fidelity, both the one and the other. This is the ſort of impartiality which we aſk. We want, in the impreſſive words of our law, "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." We do not require that an annaliſt or hiſtorian ſhould be without feelings, without paſſions, or without attachments, we do not require a being indifferent, inſenſible, or callous; nor do we require that he ſhould conceal or diſguiſe his favour or his enmity. Such concealment and diſguiſe are incompatible with the ſincerity for which we contend; and ſuch apathy would diſqualify him from the performance of the duties which his office requires. We want the impartiality of truth and equal juſtice:—and who will dare to ſay that this impartiality is inconſiſtent with patriotiſm?—

(To be continued.)

Etudes ſur l'Homme.—Studies on Man in the World, and in retirement. By J.H. Meiſter. Pp. 531. 8vo. 8s. Paris, imported by Deconchy.

NO country has produced ſo many works called *ſtudies* as France, and perhaps there is none but what has given exiſtence to ſome one that is worthy to be *ſtudied* except France. In reflections, too, thoſe fixtures of a feeble mind, they abound; but theſe, like the character of their authors, ſeem all to be of a vicious tendency. That wretched country indeed, ſtill is, and perhaps long will be, without a Spectator, Guardian, Rambler, &c. or any ſuch works has have been familiar for ages to the minds of Engliſhmen. In tales of amour only do they ſucceed; and the commoneſt obſerver muſt be convinced how very inferior are thoſe talents that can only move the ſtrongeſt of our animal paſſions into ſoft dalliance. Our preſent author, who appears to be a native of Weſtphalia, is one of thoſe old ſenſualiſts, whoſe imagination can never emerge from that impurity which is connate in France, and which is there cheriſhed as the higheſt delight from the hour of birth till that of death; when the prieſt's holy oil ſmoothes the way through purgatory. The preface to this volume, that occupies only two pages, is all we think worthy of criticiſm; as almoſt all the work is but a paraphraſe (interlarded with ſome French obſceneties)

of Pope's Eſſay on Man, with hints from Goldſmith, Thomſon and Moore; but the rich mines of Young ſeem to have been too elevated for the ken of our author. This preface however, diſcovers a curious mixture of German pride, French gaſconade, and the natural timidity of a weak mind. Theſe ſtudies, ſays he, are genuine ſtudies, nothing more—"Ces Etudes ſont de veritables etudes, rien de plus." He accounts for their incoherence and inconſiſtency by alledging that man himſelf is "a marvellous aſſemblage of the moſt ſingular contradictions," and aſſures us that we ſhall find in his work "more ideas hinted at than fully developed." The contrary, as may be readily ſuppoſed is the fact; and he has not only developed but actually hunted down, and buried in his own unmeaning words, every idea that he could find in the writings of the Engliſh poets whoſe works have been publiſhed in ſtereotype editions at Paris. He adds, that notwithſtanding all its faults, he is far from concealing the importance of his work.

"It is the reſult of 30 years obſervations and recollections collected with a very uncommon attention, and with a liberality (franchiſe) ſtill more ſo. I am far from recommending the reading of it to all the world; but I ſhall be very much diſappointed, I acknowledge it, if theſe ſtudies, all imperfect as they are, ſhould not inſpire with ſome intereſt whoever believes like Pope, that the proper ſtudy of mankind is man."

The whole of his work conſiſts but of 60 ſhort papers, that perhaps do not convey quite ſo many diſtinct ideas, ſuch as thoſe entitled *Movement*, *Affinity*, *Viſion*, *Deſtiny of Man*, &c. in which the author himſelf perhaps does not know what particular truth he wiſhed to illuſtrate. Theſe vapid or inſignificant papers, however, are tolerably innocent, a merit we cannot aſcribe to many others, eſpecially thoſe on *idleneſs*, on *the advantages of bad education*, *point of honour*, *inquietude*, *ſenſuality*, *moral and phyſical ſingularities*, &c. which are replete with falſe maxims of morality with libertiniſm, and even avowed licentiouſneſs and groſs obſcenity! Such are a great number of M. Meiſter's ſtudies on Man, the labour of thirty years!! We believe few Engliſhmen would take as many hours to produce ſuch a volume. One of the beſt and moſt unexceptionably correct of theſe Eſſays, is the thirtieth, "on different kinds of moral contagion," which is yet nothing more than ſome very familiar judicious obſervations on the danger of contracting, and neceſſity of avoiding, bad habits, or any manners and cuſtoms not previouſly ſanctioned by the moſt rigid deciſions of reaſon, and the uſage of the moſt correct and moſt accompliſhed claſs of ſociety. Although the author has added nothing new, he has done well in ſoliciting attention to one of the moſt common and moſt important points in the education of youth. It cannot be doubted that the influence of habits on juvenile minds is of all others the moſt conſiderable, and will ſtamp a character of virtue or vice during life. The merit of this Eſſay is, however, loſt in the pernicious ſillineſs of another, on a ridiculous pun, "the art of believing," in which Mr. M. attacks, in the manner of Voltaire, all the principles of human belief, or even faith in Chriſtianity.

Chriſtianity. This contemptible attack follows, very naturally indeed, an eulogy on popiſh worſhip and on the adoration of images! The chapter on "fixed ideas," we would recommend to thoſe who frequently abuſe the word 'conſiſtency,' and to all the admirers (if there be any ſuch not neceſſarily confined to a ſtrait-waiſtcoat) of the French Republican General Buonaparté in 1797, and the Imperial Napoleon, General of the empire of Europe in 1805. To gamblers and certain politicians we would obſerve, what honourable mention is here made of an orator and his paſſion for "play." The obſervations on "the great enigma of human deſtiny" are ill tranſlated from Pope. The reflections on "the dangers of a too habitual neceſſity of being beloved," pourtray with fidelity the baleful effects of exceſſive vanity ſo general in France, where the inſatiable deſire of being admired, and extreme ſelf love, have totally extinguiſhed every emotion or ſentiment of friendſhip.

As many of our readers may not ſufficiently know what groſs *plagiariſts* the French writers generally are, we ſhall quote an example, which the author delivers as an original truth.

"Les etres intelligens ont, ce ſemble, comme les globes qui roulent dans la vaſte étendue des ieeux, deux movemens qui leur ſont propres et qui puivent ſe combiner de la manière la plus heureuſe, l'un autour de leur propre centre, l'autre autour d'un centre commun au ſyſtéme dont ils ſont partie. Le premier de ces centres eſt leur bien-être individuel l'autre le bien être-général."

Whoever knows any thing of the French language muſt be ſenſible how literally this is tranſlated from Pope's 'two conſiſtent motions act the ſoul, &c.' In juſtice to the author we muſt obſerve that he gives a very decided approbation of the Engliſh language, which he ſeems to underſtand better than Frenchmen. He is, indeed, an example of the influence of early education; and although his mind is debaſed, polluted, enervated and moulded down to the French ſchool, he is ſtill occaſionally ſuſceptible of the importance of truth and good ſenſe through the medium of Engliſh and German works. From his obſervations "on the influence of the genius of certain languages," we ſhall tranſlate ſome paſſages on the French, that will illuſtrate, and corroborate what we have formerly advanced reſpecting the debaſing influence of that language.

"However poor, ſays he, the French language may be in ſome reſpects, it is words which ſeem often to give Frenchmen more ſenſe than they would naturally have, at leaſt more fineſſe, preciſion and perſpicuity. A man who ſpeaks French, and ſpeaks it tolerably even by rote, will ſooner paſs for a man of talents in that language than in any other. *It appears that under the moſt customary forms of that tongue, folly and ignorance, vice and falsehood, find a thousand means of concealing themselves with a very singular facility.* Alas! perhaps this is one of the great reaſons for the preference ſo generally given to the French language, not only in familiar converſation in ſociety, but even in the moſt important negociations of the politics of Europe.

"I might aptly compare the French language to thoſe mirrors that do

not reflect objects with the greatest exactness and truth, but in a manner singularly neat and precise, by giving even to them all a light more or less favorable, a surface more or less polished. What appears simple and clear easily passes for true. We readily take elegance for ingenuity (*finesse*), general and sentitious set forms for profoundity, dextrously exagerated expressions for energy (*force*) and a certain tone of confidence and frankness for the natural accent of good-nature and fidelity."

We cannot too earnestly entreat the attention of our readers to these observations, which are as just as they are important, and truly interesting to our national happiness. Of French treachery and cunning surely no Englishman can now be ignorant, but it is worthy the meditation of the moralist, philosopher and statesman, that these pernicious qualities are inherent not only in the people but also in the very genius of their language! How indelibly is this character written on all French treaties! Examine under this point of view Mably's *Droit d'Europe* and it will be found that these heinous sins of France have always been successful even when her arms were vanquished, and her physical power almost annihilated. It is true, human virtue is not equal to human vice; but we know that the omnipotence of heaven has placed a limit beyond which even "the gates of hell shall not prevail!"

From this slight sketch a tolerably just idea may be formed of these studies, which the French critics, in their customary style have extolled as the production of a Locke an Addison, or their own plagiarist Condillac! M. Meister is, however, rather a copyist than a plagiarist of the English Poets, although he seldom, perhaps from fear, indicates the sources whence he acquired his ideas. It has been alledged indeed, that he was once a professor at Gottingen, but we cannot credit the opinion. He is now in spirit, principle, and style, virtually a Frenchman; and we must consider his developement of the perfiduous genius of the French language the more important that it cannot be accused of national prejudice or political bias, but the impartial dictates of truth. It is a fact of which we are so well convinced, that induces us to wish, that all *future* negociations with France may eb conduct edeither in the *English* or *Latin* languages.

Rhetoriqueet Poetique Française.—French Rhetoric and Poetics, adapted by the Commission of Classic Books, for the Use of Lyceums and secondary Schools. By M. Domairon, late Professor of Polite Literature at the Military School of Paris, Inspector-General of Public Instruction. 2 vols. 12mo. 4s. each. 1805. Paris.

THE importance of education is generally acknowledged, but it is not always that the effect produced corresponds precisely with the object proposed; and Buonaparté's scheme of public education, that aims at the propagation of certain opinions congenial to military despotism, may perhaps, by one of those rules of contraries of which certain speculators have dreamed, become efficient in producing such

a paſſiveneſs as will conſtitute a peaceful and unwarlike people. The marked partiality to military profeſſors even without talents, and the unjuſt rejection of thoſe who have, if not ſoldiers, may doubtleſs lead to an end very different from the tyrant's wiſhes. The volume of rhetoric embraces a greater variety of objects than we are accuſtomed to meet with in ſuch treatiſes, but we cannot boaſt of the excellence of the materials; and when the author tells us, in the ſection on the origin and principle of the fine arts, "that architecture preceded the uſe of language and of eloquence, and that poetry ſprung from religious notions, and was afterwards directed to celebrate the feats of heroes," we can but little admire the originality or depth of his inſtructions. His judgment of the French writers, whoſe ſelf-complaiſance induces them to call themſelves hiſtorians, is equally indeciſive; although he has prudently abſtained from retailing the opinions of Mably on the Engliſh hiſtorians. Many of the poetical quotations contain plauſible but erroneous ſentiments, gilded by rhyme.

The volume of Poetics, or art of poetry, is leſs objectionable in point of moral ſentiment, but more deficient in poetic taſte and ſound judgment. The French verſifiers make their rhymes as mechanically as a fiſherman makes his net, and conſequently their literature is in part compoſed of countleſs volumes on the art of making poetry. A French rhymer ſeldom repeats the maxim, *Poeta naſcitur, non fit*: hence their diſſertations on poetry, on its rules and their application, and on the dramatic art. M. Domairon, in a kind of review of the ancient claſſic authors, prefers the art of Virgil to the ſimple nature of Homer, and at once gives a proof of his taſte and judgment in elevating Virgil to the pinnacle of the temple of the muſes. We queſtion much if he has not formed his judgment of theſe poets on tranſlations, and if he be not entirely ignorant of the language of the immortal author who ſung the fate of Troy. In his obſervations on the fable or plot of tragedy, and on the cataſtrophe, he remarks, that "where innocence is diſcovered on attempting the fatal blow, that is a *compound* fable: where blood is ſhed, that is *pathetic*; if neither, it is *moral*: thus, a fable may be at the ſame time *ſimple* and *pathetic*, *ſimple* and *moral*, *compound* and *pathetic*, or *compound* and *moral*." Such diſtinctions are either a groſs abuſe of terms, or a mere play of words. It is doubtful if the author has any diſtinct idea of what is truly moral. His opinions of Milton, and other Engliſh poets, prove that he is not acquainted with their language, no more than that of Ercilla and Camoens, neither of whom he underſtands. With the Italians he is ſomewhat better acquainted, but far from intimately. Invention is moſt aſſuredly not applicable to Fenelon's Telemachus. Its principal merit is its adherence to the ancient authorities. The judgment of the Henriade is perhaps our author's happieſt effort: he aſſigns it the middling ſtation of a defective poem, with many fine deſcriptive paſſages. In ſhort, theſe two volumes contain, in a ſmall compaſs, a great variety of obſervations that may be uſeful to thoſe who wiſh for

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an extenſive knowledge of the French language: but with the grammar of De Wailly, and the works of Batteux, they will be more philoſophically inſtructed.

La Menagerie du Muſeum.—The Menagerie of living Animals in the Muſeum of Natural Hiſtory of Paris. By La Cepede and Cuvier, with Figures drawn from Life by Marechal, Painter to the Muſeum. Vol. II. Pp. 12mo. 8s. Paris. 1805.

DID we eſtimate the value of works on natural hiſtory in proportion to their volume, we ſhould ſuppoſe the French writers to be the moſt learned and profound in that branch of ſcience; on which they have heaped volume upon volume in almoſt every ſhape or manner, and dreſſed up to all palates with the moſt laudable induſtry, though not always with the greateſt accuracy of reſearch. The preſent is one of thoſe numerous offerings, ſanctioned by the truly reſpectable names of La Cepede and Cuvier, and is not one of the leaſt intereſting. There are twenty-one figures that repreſent, with an accuracy we can authorize from perſonal obſervation, thoſe animals deſcribed as being living, or having lived in the Menagerie at the Garden of Plants. The work is adapted for common readers; but we find ſome uſeful obſervations on the ſexual and other diſtinctions among the different tribes of monkeys and apes, that are worthy the attention of naturaliſts, but which do not admit of any diſtinct analyſis. The deſcription of the female elephant's proboſcis which Cuvier diſſected, would have been highly intereſting, had it been accompanied by ſome plates; but we conſider the enumeration of the tranſverſe and longitudinal muſcles of that organ, that is calculated to contain from 30 to 40,000, rather deſigned to excite the aſtoniſhment of the ignorant than to develope any uſeful truth relative to the animal organization. The authors obſerve, with much freedom and apparent love of truth, the manner in which ſeveral reſpectable naturaliſts have been deceived, in regard to the native country of animals, and how difficult it is to acquire genuine information on that head. They alſo expoſe ſeveral miſtakes of Buffon and others, and of his miſrepreſentations in his plates to his work, where he was not unfrequently deceived by his engraver, &c. Some of theſe errors have been likewiſe adopted by Engliſh natural hiſtorians, on the authority of Buffon. In return, the authors have themſelves committed ſeveral blunders, and have been duped by ſome idle ſtories reſpecting the breeding of bears in London, and of the great uſe of their greaſe. Upon the whole, this little volume will, no doubt, find its way into the libraries of naturaliſts in this country, as an uſeful appendage to more ſcientific works.

Epitome

Epitome de l'Hiſtoire des Papes.—Epitome of the Hiſtory of the Popes from St. Peter to the preſent Day; with a Sketch of the Life of our Holy Father, Pope Pius VII. (Gregory Barnaby Chiaramonti,) from his elevation to the Pontifical Throne till his arrival in Paris. By A. Serieys, Cenſor of the Lyceum of Cahors. Pp. 223. 12mo. 4s. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.

BRIEF as this Epitome is, it ſtill contains what will more or leſs amuſe or intereſt all ſorts of religioniſts. In ſo ſmall a compaſs we have the acceſſion and principal events in the pontificate of 251 Popes and 32 Anti-popes; and although they have been all "holy men," their licentiouſneſs, ambition, and cruelties could not be concealed even in this abridgment. No authorities are here cited; and the chronological ſucceſſion of Popes is given without intermiſſion from St. Peter to Pius VII. omitting all contradictory facts in the early hiſtory of the Church, to even ſo late as the beginning of the 15th century. Nor has the editor taken any notice of Pope *Jane*, whoſe exiſtence we have ſeen ſolemnly declared by the Spaniſh inquiſitors, in the latter end of the 16th, and as ſolemnly renounced in the latter end of the 17th century. Indeed there can be no doubt of the reality of this female Pope, and we have ſeen a ſketch of her life written by a prebendary (canonigo) of the Spaniſh church, and printed at Seville about the æra of the introduction of that art in Spain. The debaucheries of Sergius III. however are noticed, and the cruelties and ambition of Julius II. but it is not mentioned that the Popes frequently indulged in matrimony, and even polygamy, till the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th centuries. The life of the late Pope has been much more ably ſketched by Dr. Meyer, of Hamburg; and from the few particulars of the preſent, we can perceive a temporiſing, ambitious, intriguing, and ſubtle character, well qualified to aggrandize power, and to make all around him feel its laſh. The Catholics boaſt of their knowledge of hiſtory; but we are well convinced that an impartial, compendious, yet complete hiſtory of the public and private lives of the Popes, would more effectually ſerve the intereſts of Chriſtianity, and more rapidly overthrow ſuperſtition and corruption than any efforts of reaſon by way of controverſy, or remonſtrance.

Le Petit Magaſin des Dames.—The Lady's Magazine. Third Year. Pp. 212. 18mo. 2s. 6d. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.

OF all the bagatelles for the ladies with which the Paris preſs daily teems, this is perhaps the moſt unexceptionally moral that we have ſeen, and we can ſafely recommend it to the attention of thoſe entruſted with the education of young ladies in the French language. The few pieces of poetry, although ſome of them bear the name of de Stael, and are ſuperior to moſt ſimilar productions, are not very

very animated, but in general innocent; a rare merit in French rhymes. The proſe is judiciouſly ſelected, and diſplays good ſenſe, taſte and elegance without that extavagance of ſentimentability that is ſo dangerous to female minds. "The mother of a family" by *Villeterque*; and the "conduct that a wife ought to have towards her huſband," by Madame R. contain ſentiments not unworthy the attention of ſome of our Engliſh matrons.

"The woman who deſtroys her huſband's reſpectability in his own houſe, deſtroys the reſources of her family. If her ſons continue unmarried from fear of meeting with a wife that reſembles her; or if when they marry, that they will carefully abſent their wives from her leſt they ſhould imitate her example; ſhe will become odious to all that ſhould be moſt dear to her, to her beſt friends, to the only ſupport that would remain in her old age."

MISCELLANEOUS.

BIOGRAPHY.

ARTHUR BROWNE, L. L. D.

LATE PRIME SERJEANT OF IRELAND, AND SENIOR FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN.

Urit enim fulgere ſuo, qui prægravat artes
Infra ſe poſitas; extinctus amibitur iden,——HOR.

TO record leading circumſtances in the lives and opinions of eminent men, eſpecially ſtateſmen and ſcholars, from authentic documents; to repreſent their attainments and appreciate their merits, candidly and diſpaſſionately; to vindicate their fame from the calumnies of party prejudice, or the malignity of private malice, without overlooking or extenuating their failings and imperfections, by an over-fond partiality; in ſhort, to hand down their characters to poſterity in true and genuine colours, as bright examples of public virtue and perſonal worth; is a tribute of applauſe due to departed excellence, a laudable gratification to the feelings of friendſhip, and an inſtructive leſſon to the riſing generation and the world at large, to imitate their virtues and avoid their defects.

——— *Breve et irreperabile tempus*
Omnibus eſt vitæ; ſed FAMAM EXTENDERE FACTIS,
HOC, VIRTUTIS OPUS.——VIRGIL.

ARTHUR BROWN, the ſubject of theſe Memoirs, was born in Briſtol, April 1. 1756. His family was reſpectable, and originally ſettled in the north of Ireland; from which his grandfather, who was a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed church, emigrated to North America, and ſettled at Portſmouth in New Hampſhire. Of ſeveral children, his eldeſt ſon, MARMADUKE BROWNE, was ſent to Ireland, and educated in Trinity College, Dublin; where he married while he was a ſtudent, and ſoon after

after the birth of his ſon ARTHUR, returned to North America with his family, and was appointed miniſter of Trinity Church in Newport, Rhode Iſland; a delightful ſpot, once honored with the reſidence of the truly pious and patriotic biſhop BERKELEY, during the unſucceſsful proſecution of his noble plan for founding a univerſity in America: for the Provoſtſhip of which, with a moderate ſalary of £. 500 a year, (if I recollect right) he offered to reſign his Epiſcopal dignity and patronage as Biſhop of Cloyne, and an income of at least treble the value; and to baniſh himſelf to that country! a rare example of diſintereſtedneſs and public ſpirit:—Had his ſalutary ſcheme been adopted, the American Colonies, would probably at this day, have maintained, and even ſtrengthened their connexion with the parent country, through the foſtering influence of a ſufficiently numerous eſtabliſhed clergy of the church of England. But the adminiſtration of that day were too ſhort ſighted to ſpeculate on remote advantages; and after four or five years of delay and diſappointment, chagrined by miniſterial chicanery, the biſhop was forced to relinquiſh his ſcheme, which was then ridiculed as *Utopian*, and returned to England. During his reſidence at Newport, he wrote his *Minute Philoſopher*, and the charming and picturesque deſcriptions of rural ſcenery, which adorn this elegant and ingenious production, were drawn from that neighbourhood.

Mr. Browne, from whom I learnt this particular, was himſelf the biſhop's godſon; and had been encouraged by his lordſhip to enter the college of Dublin, and take holy orders, on a promiſe of patronage and preferment; which probably would have been realized had the biſhop ſurvived long enough.

After his wife's deceaſe, which happened a few years after their ſettlement at Newport, Mr. Browne, applied himſelf, with redoubled aſſiduity, to the care and inſtruction of his darling ſon and only child; and impreſſed with a lively idea of the great ſuperiority of the ſyſtem of education and diſcipline purſued in the college of Dublin, over that of the American ſeminaries, he anxiouſly revived by letter, February 10, 1767, * a long ſuſpended

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* Mr. Browne poſſeſſed amiable and engaging manners, and great eaſe and pleaſantry of converſation. The following extract from his firſt letter, furniſhes a lively ſketch of the man.

"DEAR SIR,

"When you open this letter, it will no doubt ſurpriſe you to find it from your old friend and college acquaintance; and the rather, as ſo much time has elapſed ſince we have taken the leaſt notice of each other: but this you will think the leſs of, when you are told that I had long ſince deplored your untimely death, ſuddenly in a fit; deceived by a report premature and ill-founded.

"Many a time, my dear friend, has the tear of affection bedewed my cheek upon recollecting and muſing on your memory and repeated acts of friendſhip to me; ſurpaſſing any I received from thoſe who were connected with me by the ties of blood. Your kindly offering to put money in my hand, when I parted from you on board the ſhip on the quay of Cork, from a ſuſpicion of my being but indifferently provided therewith, is a circumſtance which never will be forgotten. *Dum ſpiritus hos regit artus.*

"As I make no doubt you will be pleaſed to hear how it is with me; I will in a few lines make you acquainted with my ſituation and circumſtances:

correſpondence with his "old friend and college acquaintance," the reverend DR. FORSAYETH, then a Fellow of Trinity College; and having received an anſwer, in a ſubſequent letter to him, dated September 29, 1767, obſerves:—"I have a ſon, whom you muſt take charge of; a boy I "will venture to ſay, of notable parts, and who will never diſgrace his "inſtructor." Some time after, in order to brighten the chain of friendſhip, which had been tarniſhed by abſence, and to ſettle ſome property near Cork, which devolved to him in right of his wife; Mr. Browne came over to Ireland in 1770, and viſited Doctor Forſayeth that ſummer, in the College; but unfortunately died ſhortly after his return to Rhode Iſland, March 16, 1771.

Soon after his deceaſe, his ſon, renewed, in his own name, the application which had been begun by his father, and wrote the following letter to doctor Forſayeth:

"REV. SIR,

"Senſible of the ſtrict intimacy that ſubſiſted between my deceaſed father and yourſelf, I have thought it my duty to acquaint you with the greateſt misfortune that could have happened to me in this world. No doubt, Sir, you were much ſurpriſed at not hearing from him ſince his return; but he had not one well hour after that he came on ſhore. He took paſſage on board a little pent-up veſſel, where the want of exerciſe conduced, with ſcarcity of proviſions, to throw him into the hypochondria. The principal complaints were, an entire loſs of appetite, attended with great drowſineſs, which at laſt terminated in a ſour ſtomach. He was grown extremely thin, and puked up the very little he ate. Notwithſtanding, we were not much alarmed, owing to the encouragement of the

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ſtances:——I have been ſettled theſe ſeven years in the ſecond town, and in the pleaſanteſt part of New England. Rhode Iſland is looked upon by all ſtrangers as the garden of North America: few parts of England are better improved. Of Trinity Church, in Newport, I am miniſter, with a ſalary of one hundred ſterling per annum, beſides perquiſites, which uſually amount to ten pounds more; a very pretty glebe-houſe, with a good garden, ſtable, &c. &c. I reckon my income, what I receive from Ireland included, and one hundred and thirty pounds ſterling; which is juſt ſufficient to place me above want, but not in affluence; as I ſpend every farthing, and this, though but four in family, myſelf and ſon (having lately loſt my poor wife) a boy and maid. The country is very expenſive, and my diſpoſition, perhaps rather too ſocial; but if ſo, I have not yet diſcovered it, ſo, fear I ſhall perſevere. I think I have but a competency, and cannot think of diſtreſſing myſelf, by ſcraping, to ſave what I may never live to enjoy. Thus you ſee, I have a competency, but ſtill I am not happy: I am diſſatisfied with the country and climate, and not over fond of the people. I pine after Ireland, without any proſpect of ever ſpending my days in it, unleſs you ſhould at length get a college living, and would receive me for your curate. This I am firmly of opinion, would be agreeable to me, and would induce me to quit the country; and what is more, *put me upon ſaving money* to enable me to do ſo. This, perhaps, you will laugh at; but I declare, I am more ſerious in it than you can imagine. I have much more to ſay to you, but will defer it till I hear from you, which I beg you will let me, &c."

doctor

doctors, who aſſured us, that the ſpring, and a journey to Portſmouth would remove every complaint. In ſhort, he died moſt unexpectedly, the 16th of March. Never did I receive ſuch a blow: not only the little *philoſophy* I had learnt, was of no uſe to me upon this occaſion, but even *religion* could not avail, till the paſſions had ſpent their force. However I have endeavoured to turn it to the beſt advantage, by ſubmitting to the will of Heaven, and hoping for future protecton from it.

" My poor father has frequently declared to me and all his friends, his intention of ſending me to the Univerſity of Dublin this ſummer; but had the misfortune of not ſeeing my grandfather before his death.—Think, then Sir, what an addition it muſt be to my grief, to find, that my grandfather (an old man, and who has lately been ſhocked with two fits of the palſy) determined in one night, without any conſideration, to ſend me to Cambridge in this country, a place which my father deteſted, and which is no better than a ſink of ignorance and vice. I have not ſeen him this ſome time, but expect it ſoon; and believe I can uſe argument, which will induce him to change his opinion. At all events, Sir, I ſhall inſiſt upon ſtaying, till we hear from you. Could ſuch a thing be brought about, induſtry ſhould not be wanting in me, whatever ability might. If it cannot, I muſt think of ſome other ſcheme of life; as I can never think of going to Cambridge, upon my dear Father's account.

" I am aſſured your good-nature will excuſe this boldneſs in me; for you muſt give me leave to ſay, Sir, though I have never ſeen you, that I *know* you. after having heard my father ſo often mention, with reſpect, the name of DOCTOR FORSAYETH. Oh, from your feelings as a friend, judge what muſt be the grief of an orphan;

I am, Sir,
With the trueſt eſteem,
June 15. Your humble Servant,
ARTHUR BROWNE."

Such a letter, written in ſuch circumſtances, proved irreſiſtable. That a boy of only fourteen years old ſhould be capable of expreſſing ſuch generous and manly ſentiments in ſuch ſimplicity of language, and elegance of ſtyle; that he ſhould, upon motives of filial duty and a noble abhorence of " ignorance and vice," counteract the wiſhes of his neareſt relatives, wanting to educate him at home; that he ſhould voluntarily offer to quit all his connections in America, and undauntedly croſs the Atlantic, alone, " *the world before him, and* PROVIDENCE *his guide*," in order to commit himſelf and his fortunes to the patronage and protection of a perſonal ſtranger indeed, but his father's deareſt friend; all theſe circumſtances evinced a degree of ſagacity and foreſight, a firmneſs of deciſion, a ſpirit of enterpriſe, and a generoſity and elevation of mind, altogether uncommon, at any age. Dr. Forſayeth, the vigour of whoſe underſtanding was only exceeded by the warmth of his heart, read or rather devoured his letter, with delight; he inſtantly invited the orphan child of his friend, to come over without delay; who arrived accordingly early in the next year, 1772; he received with rapture, the charming boy, (for ſuch he really was, both in appearance and addreſs) he undertook his guardianſhip, he adopted him as his child, and entered him March 24, 1774, under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Hales, Fellow of the College, who having entered Nov. 1, 1764, had been elected May 22, 1769, and was then an eminent tutor, after having been originally, the moſt highly favoured pupil of Dr. Forſayeth; and who then

lived

lived with him in the ſame building, No. XXIV. in the library Square, in the ſtricteſt and moſt indiſſoluble intimacy of reciprocal friendſhip and affection, until the Doctor's much lamented death, in the year 1786, at the age of 49 years; (exactly the ſame as Doctor Browne's, at his deceaſe) having died in a noble cauſe, the cauſe of the widow and the orphan; in conſequence of an inflammation on his lungs, contracted by repeated colds during a ſevere winter in Dublin, whilſt he was employed in ſoliciting and endeavouring to procure the paſſing of a bill through parliament, that he had formed for the relief of the Widows and Children of the Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church, in Ireland; which paſſed through the Houſe of Commons, indeed, but unfortunately miſcarried in the Lords, from ignorance of its utility, and the ill-founded prejudices of thoſe who ought to have been its warmeſt ſupporters—the late Primate Robinson, and ſeveral of the Clergy, ſwayed perhaps, too much, by his authority. This excellent bill, was formed by Doctor Forſayeth upon the model of the *Annuity Scheme* for the benefit of the *Scotch* Clergy; which was originally founded in the year 1747, on the calculations of the great MACLAURIN, and ſucceſſively improved by the corrections of Mr. WEBSTER and Dr. PRICE, afterwards; until brought to its preſent ſtate of unrivalled ſtability and perfection. In this noble and permanent annuity ſcheme, all the Scottiſh Clergy and profeſſors, married and unmarried are compelled by law, to ſubſcribe to ſome one of the four following claſſes of annuities for widows, viz. 10*l.* 15*l.* 20*l.* or 25*l.* the choice of whichever claſs, is optional; the ſubſcribers paying at the rate of 1*l.* 5*s.* ſubſcription, for every 5*l.* annuity; and the ſcheme admirably extends a proviſion of ten years income of the choſen annuity, in one ſum, to the children, if there be no widow left, *at* the huſband's death. Suppreſſing the firſt claſs of 10*l.* Doctor Forſayeth ſubmitted a fourth of 30*l.* as better fitted to the meridian of Ireland; and by the proviſions of his bill, while the beneficed Clergy were compellable to ſubſcribe to ſome one of the foregoing claſſes; the Curates were left at liberty to ſubſcribe or not, to any, at their own diſcretion. The time I truſt, is not far diſtant, when the friends of the church and the members of a more enlightened Legiſlature will revive and enact this truly philoſophical philoclerical bill; the neceſſity for which, from the diſproportionate riſe of times to the incomes of the Clergy, is every day growing more urgent and imperious.

When he became a ſtudent of Trinity College Dublin, young BROWNE, by unremitting aſſiduity and attention to his ſtudies, diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his rapid progreſs in all the branches of learning taught in that noble ſeminary; and was not leſs fortunate, in conciliating general favour, by the uncommon attractions of his addreſs and converſation. Uniting a wonderful verſatility of mind, capable of ſhifting with the greateſt eaſe, from the lighter avocations of poetry and the belles letters, to the ſeverer ſtudies of Philoſophy and Mathematics; with the moſt inſinuating manners, he readily accommodated himſelf to all humours and diſpoſitions; "he became, (in the language of a print, by no means partial to his merits,*) "the *idol* of the ſtudents; who loved him with the affection of fond children; for he ſtrove to *retain* their affections, by a ſuavity of temper—by mild and engaging manners——peculiarly his own:" and

* *The Dublin Evening Poſt.*

never

never did any one more undeſignedly, and thereby perhaps, more ſucceſsfully practice Cicero's grand political maxim :— *Primum hoc ſtatus virtutis, animos, conciliare hominum, atque ad uſus ſuos adjungere.*

In the year 1774, in conſequence of his proficiency in claſſical learning, he was elected *a ſcholar of the houſe*, or one of the ſeventy ſtudents on the foundation, when a junior-ſophiſter. And ſo well did he profit by the joint inſtructions of Dr. *Forſayeth*, and Mr. *Hales*, that only two years after, at the early ſtanding of a junior Bachelor, he was ſufficiently qualified to offer himſelf for the firſt time a candidate for a vacant fellowſhip in 1776, from a competent knowledge of the various branches of literature and rudiments, of ſcience, required in that ſtricteſt and faireſt public examination, perhaps in the world. The next year 1777, he ſucceeded, and was elected a *Fellow of the College*, with diſtinguiſhed reputation, being then in his twentieth year. Having made choice of the law, as the profeſſion moſt congenial to his enterprizing temper, and beſt adapted to the diſplay of his ſplendid talents, he went to London, and purſued his ſtudies at the temple during the regular period of time neceſſary for his admiſſion to the bar. And through the munificence of his moſt excellent and indulgent guardian, Dr. *Forſayeth*, he was enabled to gratify his paſſion for finiſhing his education in the moſt liberal ſtyle, both at home and abroad ; to get admiſſion into the firſt circles for worth and talents in London, and to make an excurſion to the Continent, where he viſited France and the Netherlands. And his letters to his college friends, written during that period, diſplayed no ordinary reach of obſervation and inſight into the various characters and circumſtances of men and things, and places which occured to him in that early ſtage of his journey through life.

The next important epoch in his public life, was his election to ſerve as one of the repreſentatives of the Univerſity in Parliament : previous to the account of which, it will be neceſſary to review the ſituation of our *alma mater*, at that time.

The College of Dublin, the *mater univerſitatis*, was founded by Queen Elizabeth, and chiefly deſigned to be a ſeminary for the education of the eſtabliſhed *Clergy* of Ireland. To promote this deſign, and to ſecure a proper head, by the ſtatutes of King James I. its moſt munificent patron, the Provoſt was required, 1ſt. to be in *holy orders*, and 2dly, of the ſtanding at leaſt of a *bachelor of divinity :* and from that time, until the deceaſe of the Rev. Doctor *Richard Baldwin*, about the year 1758, the provoſts, in ſucceſſion, were uniformly clergymen. He was ſucceeded by a ſenior fellow of the college, but a Layman, and a lawyer, Dr. *Francis Andrews*, during the adminiſtration of the duke of Bedford, when lord lieutenant of Ireland ; by virtue of two diſpenſations of the crown, (a power reſerved to it in the college charter) from his ſtatutable diſabilities —a moſt diſaſtrous innovation, which, during his provoſtſhip, gave the firſt wound to the diſcipline of the College, and the morals of the ſtudents, by infuſing the ſubtle poiſons of electioneering craft and political intrigue into their youthful minds ; the provoſt being himſelf a politician and in parliament, and interfering more than once in the election of members for the univerſity, as the writer of theſe memoirs can teſtify.

Upon his deceaſe in 1774, notwithſtanding the remonſtrance of the Senior Fellows, who compoſe with the provoſt the government of the college, and the oppoſition of the reſpectable primate Robinſon, deprecating a ſimilar ſucceſſor, and praying that the appointment might revert into

the old, clerical channel Dr. *John Hely Hutchinſon*, his Majeſty's prime-ſerjeant, and afterward ſecretary of ſtate, was appointed Provoſt, with no leſs than three diſpenſations from the ſtatutes, (the third, from *celibacy*) during the earl of Harcourt's adminiſtration. A meaſure, which it is ſaid, contributed more than any other, to work that nobleman's diſgrace with the King, on his return to England.

In the year 1778, while Mr. Browne was proſecuting his ſtudies at the temple, the provoſt's eldeſt ſon, *Mr. Richard Hely Hutchinſon*, (now earl of Donoghmore) was elected a member of parliament for the univerſity: but a petition having been brought againſt his election on the ground of undue influence, his ſeat was vacated by a vote of the houſe of commons; and Mr. Fitzgibbon, who had ſucceſsfully managed the petition, offered himſelf as a candidate. On this occaſion, the Provoſt attempting to ſubſtitute his nephew, councellor Duquerrey, in the room of his ſon; Mr. Browne, as being a permament member of the ſociety, and univerſally eſteemed for his virtue and talents, was fixed on by a conſiderable body of the independent electors, as the fitteſt perſon to defend and promote the rights and intereſts of the univerſity, and to prevent it from being degraded with a *family borough*. At that time, Mr. Fitzgibbon, (ſince, attorney-general, Lord Chancellor, and Earl of Clare) ſucceeded in his election: but afterwards in 1783, having been deſerted by a powerful party of the Fellows, who notwithſtanding his ſervices, and rather impolitically, prefered the intereſt of Sir Lawrence Parſons, the latter was elected member along with Mr. Browne, who came in without oppoſition. This early competition of Political intereſts, unfortunately produced an animoſity which long ſubſiſted in the breaſt of Lord Clare; and led him, perhaps, during the exerciſe of his viſitaterial authority, in 1798, to reprimand Dr. Browne, rather too ſeverely, for a ſingle deviation from the formalities of academic diſcipline; without the concurrence or approbation of the other viſitor, Doctor Duigenan: a trivial circumſtance, which has been magnified, moſt ungenerouſly and malignantly, by their foes, to calumniate theſe exalted and excellent characters, ſince their deceaſe. But when Dr. Browne, in the ſecond ſeſſion of 1800, gave his zealous, decided, and diſintereſted ſupport to the great and important meaſure of parliamentary Union; which he had oppoſed in the foregoing ſeſſion, "thro' falſe complaiſance," as he confeſſed, "to an ungrateful portion of his conſtituents," againſt his better judgment, which, from the time of the rebellion, 1798, had been inclined to the meaſure; —a meaſure, which he now ſupported, as he declared, "from full conviction of its urgent and imperious neceſſity as "*a refuge from ruin*,"—as the only alternative left, to remove and prevent the complicated evils, preſent and future, reſulting from "the madneſs of democracy, the horrors of rebellion, and the inefficiency, irritations, and corruptions of a ſubordinate, provincial parliament;"—the only feaſible method, to ſecure "the ſtabiſity and permanency of the Conſtitution in Curch and State;—and to counteract and defeat the inceſſant machination of France to ſever Ireland from Great Britain;—from "reſpect for the ſentiments of no inconſiderable part of the nation," and eſpecially, of the ſoberer and moſt reſpectable part of his own conſtituents,—and in fine, from attention to his Majeſty's repeated declarations, that He thought the Union eſſential to the intereſt of the empire."—Dr. Browne openly and repeatedly aſſerting, both at that time and afterwards, that in voting for the meaſure, he was influenced by no mercenary motives, that he had made no ſtipula-

tions

tions with government for his ſervices:—Such manly, public-ſpirited and diſintereſted conduct, ſuch voluntary ſacrifice of popularity, which no man valued higher, extorted the approbation and eſteem of that high minded nobleman, Lord Clare, and converted him into a cordial and ſteady friend to this "kindred ſoul," until the laſt hour of his life.*

At the general election in 1790. Dr. Browne, was a ſecond time, unanimouſly elected member for the Univerſity, with Mr. *Francis Hely Hutchinſon*, the Provoſt's third ſon; and a third time, in 1797, when, on the excluſion of the latter, Mr. *George Knox*, was elected in his room, gentleman, whoſe ſole pretenſions to repreſent the Univerſity, ſeems to have originated from oppoſition to the Hutchinſon-intereſt; and in whoſe favor, by the partiality of his ſupporters, an unaccountable deviation took place, from that honorable, and heretofore, indiſpenſable

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*The following extract of letters from lord CLARE, to Doctor BROWNE, will ſhew the terms of intimacy ſubſiſting between them.

No. I.

"My dear Browne,

"On Wedneſday laſt, I have received a very ſevere hurt from the pummel of my ſaddle, which would have ended very ſeriouſly, if I had not, almoſt immediately, undergone a difficult and painful operation; which, however, has completely relieved me, but confines me to my bed, from whence I write this letter.—I preſume, you will not heſitate to accept the ſituation, which, *for the preſent*, is within your reach [the prime-ſerjeantſhip.]

"I ſhall not envy Mr. P—— his happineſs, if his friend Mr. M—— ſhall ſucceed him: but it is melancholy to ſee, that *intrigue ſhould flouriſh as vigorouſly as ever, in Trinity College.*

Always very truly your's.

My dear Browne,

LONDON, *May*, 25, 1801. CLARE."

No. II.

"My dear Browne,

"If government ſhall conſult with me on the ſubject [of a vacancy on the judicial bench,] I can only ſay, that I will *honeſtly* and *conſcientiouſly* ſtate my opinion of the qualifications of every candidate; conſidering only, which of them is, *according to my judgment and information, beſt calculated to contribute to the due adminiſtration of Juſtice.*

Your's always very truly,

My dear Browne.

MOUNT-SHANON, *Sep.* 21, 1801. CLARE."

N. B. This is a moſt honourable teſtimony to lord Clare's uprightneſs; whoſe death, not long after, was a great *national* calamity.

qualifications for candidates, of having received their education in the College of Dublin.——But Mr. Knox, had powerful connexions.

With this colleague, Dr. Browne continued to diſcharge his duty in parliament, until the abolition of one of the ſeats of the Univerſity borough, in December 1800; when, in compliance with the wiſhes of adminiſtration (ſignified to him by the noble lord who conducted its meaſures) preferring Mr. Knox to him (although that gentleman had uniformly oppoſed the union throughout) Dr. Browne was induced voluntarily to reſigni his ſeat; whereby Mr. Knox continued the ſitting member, without incurring the riſque of a ballot.

Such was the cloſe of the political career of a man, who in his own candid avowal of his principles, declared himſelf,—"a ſincere Proteſtant, not like many, a mere *political*, but a *religious* Proteſtant,* with opinions founded on reaſon, ſtudy and reflection:" and who, with a noble liberality of mind, free from bigotry or intolerance,—"wiſhed that every priviledge ſhould be grantedd to the Catholics, *conſiſtent with the ſafety of the eſtabliſhment:* for to the eſtabliſhment alſo," added he, "on much reflexion, I am a ſteady friend."——Speech in the Houſe of Commons, February 18, 1800.

Even his enemies muſt confeſs, that Dr. Browne on all occaſions, ſhewed in the ſtrongeſt manner, the moſt active attachment to the king, the church, and the conſtitution; though he blamed certain miniſterial meaſures; of this, he received the ſtrongeſt acknowledgment from lord *Camden*, though in oppoſition.† And of his diſintereſtedneſs, the many opportunities he

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* That Dr. Browne was indeed a truly "*religious* Proteſtant"—— his courageous reprobation of the abſurd, immoral and anti-chriſtian mode of *duelling*, furniſhes a ſtriking ſpecimen in his ſuoceding ſpeech, May 21, 1800.

"Gentlemen," ſaid he, "were much in the habit of wiſhing to make perſonal attacks upon him:—he was not aſhamed to ſay, that "*he feared* GOD;" if *not*, the Scriptures had told him, that *at the laſt day Heaven would be aſhamed of him*. He was not afraid to obſerve, that from his peculiar ſituation, as ſenior fellow of a College, decorum made it peculiarly incumbent on him not to ſeek for quarrels; nor was he forgetful, that the knowledge, that a duel might deprive him of ſeven hundred pounds a year, made adventuring adverſaries particularly courageous in ſeeking for ſo unequal a combat; he ſpoke boldly, becauſe he felt he was no coward, and he believed every man felt it; but while at the ſame time he was conſcious that there were ſituations ariſing accidentally and involuntarily between gentlemen which are much to be lamented, and to real ſpirit, difficult to be reſiſted; he was free to own, that if any man vented his cold blooded intereſted and premeditated malice upon him, and much more, if he was the poor inſtrument of the malice of others, he would meet his impotent aſſault with ſilent contempt."

† The following extract of a letter from Lord CAMDEN to Doctor BROWNE, in 1798, as being equally honourable to both, may here be inſerted, without any breach of the delicacy due to private correſpondence.

voluntarily

voluntarily paſſed over of advancing himſelf conſiderably in the world' the great and tempting offers he rejected in the time of the *Regency*' furniſh conſiderable evidence.

The following ſketch of Dr. Browne's general character, has been already ſo ably and faithfully drawn by the ingenious and judicious Editor of that conſtitutional paper, THE DUBLIN JOURNAL, of June 11, 1805, that I ſhall take the liberty of republiſhing it with ſome additional remarks.

" We ſhould ill convey the public ſentiment of regret, for the loſs of the late prime ſerjeant were we to withhold that tribute of reſpect and admiration of his conduct as a *truly honeſt* and *independent gentleman*, which the whole train of a long political life has acquired to his memory. Elevated by his learning to the truly honourable and enviable ſituation of a fellow of Dublin college, and adopting the profeſſion of the bar, Mr. Browne very ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo highly as to be choſen repreſentative for the Univerſity. He entered into parliament in 1783, and was characteriſed in the Houſe of Commons by elegant correctneſs, logical preciſion, and ſterling good ſenſe. In thoſe ſtormy and unhappy times which followed, he adopted the very *arduous* and *unprofitable* taſk of acting with ſtrict independence of any party; though enthuſiaſtically attached to ſound and rational liberty, no man ſaw more clearly the dangers of licentiouſneſs: and accordingly, our parliamentary hiſtory will prove that no *demagogue* could ever count upon Dr. Browne as his follower; no *faction* could enroll him as a partizan: ſteady to the ſtricteſt principles of truth and patriotiſm; he alike oppoſed thoſe meaſures which he thought miſchievous, and ſupported thoſe which he thought uſeful to the country; even though the firſt ſhould enjoy the ſanction of popularity, and the latter ſhould expoſe him to inevitable injury.

" The clergy of Ireland cannot forget, that when in 1787, the firſt attack was made upon the church eſtabliſhment, by abetting the popular diſlike to the payment of tythes, Dr. Browne ſtood forth one of their ableſt champions; and by his learning, his reſearch, his proofs and his arguments, effectually overturned the maſs of ſophiſtry, miſtatement, calumny, and clamour, which had been raiſed againſt the church of Ireland, for *purpoſes, which ſucceeding years have too plainly developed.*"

SIR,

" I am ſorry that you have thought it neceſſary to make any apology in addreſſing me upon the ſubject on which I have been favored with a lettter from you; as I am always ready and deſirous of doing juſtice to thoſe perſons with whoſe characters I became acquainted during my reſidence in Ireland. I certainly ſhould not do that juſtice to your's which it deſerves from me, did I not declare, that *I am convinced his Majeſty has not a more loyal ſubject*; and I beg to aſſure you, that you may depend upon ſuch a report being made by me in this kingdom.——

I have the honor to remain,
With perfect truth,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,

CAMDFN.

Indeed

Indeed, almoſt the laſt act of his political life was a fruitleſs attempt to reſiſt the ſpoliation of the revenue of the church; when he ſtood forth, almoſt ſingly, to oppoſe a bill introduced into the Houſe of Commons, ſhortly before its expiration in 1800, for depriving the parochial clergy in Ireland, of their legal and indubitable right to the tythe of *agiſtment*, or of barren cattle; under a voluntary ſuſpenſion of the exerciſe of which, they had laboured for ſixty years; ſubmitting without murmuring to a former inhibitory vote of the Houſe of Commons about the year 1740. On this occaſion, Dr. Browne in vain remonſtrated againſt the fatal precedent of depriving under colour of law, a numerous and unoffending deſcription of ſubjects of their property without their conſent: an unconſtitutional meaſure, he ſaid, unknown ſince the days of *Alfred* the Great; a meaſure, of ſpoliation, which even the haughty and imperious Henry VIII durſt not attempt, at the time of the diſſolution of the religious houſes in England, and the alineation of their revenues until he had either perſuaded or intimidated the owners into a formal ſurrendry of their titles: a meaſure as impolitic as it was unjuſt and unconſtitutional, ſince it had operated heretofore, as a bounty upon grazing and a tax upon tillage; and would alſo in future, preclude any augmentation of the number of the parochial clergy, by raiſing their tythes, which had been alineated, loſt, or reduced far below their value, to their proper level, as in England; thereby to enable the hierarchy to remove the evil of pluralities, and alſo by dividing benefices, to encreaſe the number of the clergy, ſo deplorably poor in Ireland. But argument was of no avail againſt the prevailing prejudice; and the bill, with the moſt indecent precipitation, and without giving time for petitioning againſt it, was hurried through both houſes, and paſſed into a law, in leſs than three weeks from its introduction by Sir *John Macartney!* Such was the reward of the parochial clergy of Ireland, for their uniform loyalty to the crown and attachment to the conſtitution, and ſupport of the connexion with Great Britain, at all times; ſuch their reward for the patient endurance of ſyſtematic courſe of a pillage and perſecution, from friends and enemies, for many years; ſuch their reward for their patriotic and hazardous exertions to reſtore tranquility and bring offenders to juſtice, during the woeful period of the rebellion of 1798, during which, ſeveral were aſſaſſinated, Doctor *Hamilton*, *Mr. Butler*, Mr. *Knipe*, &c. &c. others, forced to emigrate to England and Wales; and all materialy injured in their property. While by a moſt invidious and mortifying contraſt, they ſtill behold themſelves left in the ſhade—and the diſſenting and the popiſh clergy, either already enjoying, or looking forward, with no unfounded hope, to an augmentation of their incomes, from the bounty and liberality of government!

But to return, from this digreſſion, extorted by the ſufferings and privations of the Iriſh clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, in this their "day of trouble, and of rebuke and of blaſphemy," to the remaining particulars of Dr. Browne's character:——"when the dangers of the country in 1796, called for the ſervice of every man who loved the king, and the conſtitution, the honeſt impulſe which raiſed the armed yeomanry, was at firſt conceived to be inconſiſtent with the peaceful habits of academic life, and the ardor of the ſtudents of the Univerſity was (not without difficulty) for a time reſtrained; but the appearance of the French off Bantry, removed that reſtraint, and Dr. Browne, was, by an unanimous requiſition, called upon to put himſelf at the head of a corps, which for diſcipline

diſcipline and appearance, ſoon became, under his care, the boaſt of the yeomanry? [when, ſuch was his zeal for their improvement, and his verſatile genius, that from the moſt approved treatiſes on military tactics, he compiled a ſhort treatiſe for their uſe.]

"Upon the great queſtion of UNION, he thought (*as he always thoug't for himſelf,*) that it was the only meaſure which promiſed ſecurity to the conſtitution, in church and ſtate, and tranquillity to the country. On theſe grounds he acted; and though aſſailed with the moſt inceſſant and virulent calumny by an active and malignant party, he gave to the meaſure of union, the full ſupport of his vote and his talents.

"This voluntary ſacrifice of popularity, and his ſubſequent reſignation of his ſeat in parliament, were claims which called too ſtrongly upon the gratitude of government to be overlooked; and Dr. Browne, was appointed to the office of his Majeſty's prime ſerjeant, (in 1802) with every proſpect, from his talents and his ſervices, of being in time advanced to the judicial rank.*

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* In addition to the foregoing teſtimony of lord CLARE, (ſee note, p. 414) unequivocally intimating doctor Browne's proſpect of advancement to the judicial bench; the following extracts of letters from lord CASTLEREAGH, during lord Cornwallis's adminiſtration, and from lord CORNWALLIS himſelf ſince, indicate the high ſenſe they entertained of Dr. Browne's ſervices and claims.

No. I.

"My dear Sir, Park, Friday morn.

——"You may be aſſured, that I ſhall always have great pleaſure in bearing teſtimony to *the zealous and decided ſupport* you have given the King's government, and whenever an application from you is brought under the lord lieutenant's conſideration, I ſhall have much ſatisfaction in repreſenting *the value of theſe ſervices* which you have rendered to his excellency's adminiſtration, *during the important conteſt in which we have been engaged.*

"I am, dear Sir,

"With great regard,

"Your faithful and obedient ſervant,

"Doctor Browne," "CASTLEREAGH."

No. II.

Burlington ſtreet, June 9, 1802.

"Dear Sir.

"I have received your letters, dated the 22d of May and 4th of June; and if on any occaſion your name ſhold be mentioned to me by the men in power on this ſide of the water, you may be aſſured, that I ſhall ſpeak of you in ſuch terms as *the high eſteen I have for your talents and character* would dictate. This however is not likely to be the caſe, &c.

"I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

"Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

"Doctor Browne." "CORNWALLIS."

No. III.

"Sir,

"I am truly ſenſible of, and ſhall always be ready to acknowledge *the*

important

" In his progreſs to that advancement, he was arreſted by a ſhort and ſuden illneſs, [occaſioned by over fatigue in the aſſizes, on the Munſter Circuit, where he acted as judge; as he had done with diſtinguiſhed reputation, on three preceding occaſions; in addition to which, during ſome tedious trials at bar, which laſted the whole day, he incautiouſly ate hard biſcuit and cheeſe;—indigeſtible food, which brought on an obſtruction in his bowels, not to be removed by medicine, and terminated in his death, June 8, 1805, ſhortly after his return from circuit.] " His death deprived the Univerſity and the bar of one, who, by his learning, his talents, and his integrity, was one of their brighteſt and pureſt ornaments; it deprived the circle of ſociety in which he lived of a man as ſincere and ſteady in his friendſhips, as he was kind and gentle in his manners; and deprived an amiable and beloved family, [conſiſting of a widow and five children, four of them very young] of the moſt affectionate of huſbands and the kindeſt of fathers; and, to aggravate their loſs, and prolong their ſorrows, the writer of this, is warranted to declare, left in rather indigent circumſtances; which has reluctantly induced an application to government for the relief of the family of a good and faithful ſervant, who, while involved in profeſſional and literary purſuits, and abſorbed in public affairs, unavoidably neglected his domeſtic concerns and private intereſts; and in the ſhort period which intervened, between his promotion to the prime-ſerjeantſhip and his death, could not avail himſelf, as he intended,* of the increaſe of his income to ſecure a competent proviſion for his family.

" *Excuſſus propriis, aliena vegetior cure!*"——HOR.

" His pen, was one of *the few*, which have of late years, been exerted in Ireland, to amuſe and inſtruct, without inflicting pain on others. In

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important ſervices you rendered my adminiſtration during the ſecond ſeſſion in which the queſtion of *Union* was agitated: and ſhall retain a *real eſteem and regard for your character and conduct*: but although itwas my intention to have taken the firſt favourable opportunity of promoting your wiſhes, (after I had ſatisfied ſome previous engagements which I was reluctantly compelled to contract) if I had remained ſome time longer in Ireland; I am concerned to ſay, that at preſent, it is entirely out of my power to take a farther part than by my ſincere good wiſhes.

" I have the honor, &c.

" Doctor Browne," " CORNWALLIS."

* In ſearching his papers, an account-book was found, at the head of which was the following memorandum: " This account begins the firſt of January, 1805——*May the bleſſing of* GOD *attend it!*——And may HE *that ſeeth in ſecret reward openly*, this effuſion of private devotion, and raiſe up friends to his family! May *his prayers and his alms*, be had in remembrance before the throne of Grace!

Surely, a ſmall portion of the public money cannot be better employed than in making ſome proviſion for the family of a man who was in the beſt ſenſe of the word, *the benefactor of the public*.—EDITOR.

that

that ſickly ſtate of public appetite, which is only to be gratified by public calumny and party rancour, his productions have not forced themſelves upon public notice: but they have been in this reſpect like their author, ——with the ſame gentle, unaſſuming character, they bear the ſame features of taſte, learning, and benevolence."

Notwithſtanding his various and embaraſſing duties and avocations, Dr. Browne, though of a delicate frame, and in the courſe of a life of only forty-nine years, ſtill found, or created, time for attaining a conſiderable degree of information in the *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, *German*, and *Perſian* languages, and for compoſing a variety of publications:

1. *Lectures on Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Law*, &c 2 vols. 8vo.

2. *A Compendium of Eccleſiaſtical Law in Ireland*, 8vo. of which a ſecond edition, with great additions, was publiſhed in 1803.—N. B. Theſe two works rank high in public eſtimation.

3. *A Treatiſe on the Greek Tenſes*, which evinces uncommon acuteneſs, and critical ſkill in that language, of which he was for ſeveral years univerſity profeſſor, and which, being communicated to that eminent claſſical ſcholar, as well as ſtateſman, Mr. CHARLES FOX, produced in anſwer, a *Diſſertation* on the ſubject; which, (with his permiſſion) may perhaps be given, on ſome future occaſion, to the public, as a valuable communication.

4. *Sketches*, or *Hints for Eſſays*, 2 vol. 8vo. exhibiting the natural and unpremeditated effuſions of an elegant and cultivated mind, ſoftened by domeſtic ſorrows, and its aſperities ſmothered by extenſive commerce with the world, and refined and exalted by religion.

5. *Tranſlations of Poems from the Perſian and Spaniſh languages*, which have met the approbations of the beſt Orientaliſts and *Sir William Ouſely*, lord *Moira*, &c. have commended in their letters to him.

6. Sundry communications of conſiderable merit in the *Tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy*, from its commencement.

7. In 1800, were printed, "not for general publication, but for diſtribution among a few friends," ſome *documents vindicating his parliamentary conduct from the charge of inconſiſtency*; in which, he has ſatisfactorily refuted the calumny.

8. In the ſame year, and in the like maner.—*Remarks on the Terms of the Union.*— in which he thus ſtates his reaſon for writing them.

"The *principle* of Union is decided. The public approbation or diſapprobation of the *terms* is of infinite conſequence to the peace and proſperity of the country. On the former, *ſince the rebellion*, I never had but one opinion, though I at firſt improperly conceded it to the opinions of others. On the latter, I had many doubts, which if not entirely diſpelled, have certainly been in a great meaſure removed. Having never had a proper opportunity of explaining my ſentiments thereon, and having been prevented by indiſpoſition and particular circumſtances of fatigue, from attending the houſe in that ſtage of the bill, in which I meant to have delivered them; it gives me ſatisfaction to have an opportunity of doing ſo, by briefly conſidering the various articles to which they relate, and the principal objections to them offered; and of proving, that my aſſent given to theſe terms, is not *blindly implicit*, or *ſervilely univerſal*:" and he then diſcuſſes briefly, but in a maſterly way, theſe objections, as they relate to, 1. *The paucity of Repreſentatives.* 2. *Church.* 3. *The Catholics.* 4. *The City of Dublin.* 5. *Law.* 6. *Trade.* 7. *Taxation.* 8. *Controverted elections.* 9. *Abſentees.* 10. *Tranquility.* 11. *Jobs.* 12. *Local Legiſlature.* 13. *The Settlement of* 1802.

"Such

"Such, concludes he, are ſome of the obvious remarks upon the *term* of union, which naturally ſuggeſt themſelves to a plain mind; and which, I think, ſerve to convince us, that if theſe theſe terms be not altogether *as perfect* as hope might conceive, they are at leaſt, *much more ſatisfactory*, than in the uſual intercourſe of human affairs, reaſon could expect."

"In the courſe of an extenſive and various correſpondence," adds he, "two letters from ſenſible men—one in Scotland, the other in America—in the progreſs of laſt year, (1799) much amuſed me:——*I am an enemy* ſaid my noble allied Scottiſh friend, *to the Union: We*, ſays he, *undoubtedly, gained in happineſs and wealth; but we ſacrificed our pride!*" *We*, ſrid my commercial American friend, *aae aſtoniſhed at your rnjecting the bleſſings of union:* Yoe have ſacriſiced *riches and comfort to pride!*"

Though already too prolix, I fear, in thus fondly dwelling on the minuter traits of character in a long-loved friend, I cannot reſiſt the temptation of inſerting the following highly honorable and appropriate teſtimony to his uncommon worth, given by an aſſociate, who knew him well, and had oppoſed him at elections; but was reconciled to him before he reſigned his fellowſhip, for a college-beneſice.*

"His qualities were perhaps of *too mild* a character, for the agitated ſcene in which it was his lot to act: but the man, whoſe domeſtic life might have afforded an example of piety, to men who could not plead his avocations; the man, who in his judicial character, was careful to maintain, by his attendance on public worſhip, that reſpect for religion ſo neceſſary to produce and enforce obedience to the laws; and who, not confining himſelf to a cold, formal diſcharge of his duty ou the bench, became the humane and willing advocate of the friendleſs priſoner; the man, in fine, whoſe memory is hallowed by the bleſſings of the poor, by the ſorrrows o his friends, and by the regret of his enemies,—whoſe overtures of reciprocal forgiveneſs and mutual amneſty—he was foremoſt to meet and accept with cheerfulneſs—may well be preſented to you (the ſtudents) as a model of *moral* imitation."

"*Qui's deſideris, ſit pudor, tam cari capitis, aut modus!*"

HOR.
J. H.

Reflections on Papal Excommunications, ſuggeſted by the recent Caſe of Donovan v. *Father O'Brien.*

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

IN page 94 of your 87th Number for September laſt, you mentioned that the following very ſingular caſe was tried at the aſſizes of Cork before the Hon. Judge Day, and a ſpecial jury:—

That "a baker of the name of Donovan, brought an action againſt the Rev. Mr. O'Brien, Vicar-General to Dr. Coppinger, Titular Biſhop of Cork, and Roman Catholic pariſh prieſt of Clonakilty. The damages were laid at 500l. It appeared on the trial, that a ſubſcription had been ſet on foot by the prieſt for the purpoſe of building a Roman Catholic chapel. Donovan

* The Rev. Dr. *Miller*, in a diſcourſe delivered ſhortly after Dr. Browne's deceaſe, in the college chapel, Sunday, June 23, 1805.

novan was ordered to pay as his affixed quota, 16s. 3d. which he accordingly did; he was afterwards called on to pay 9s.; this ſum he likewiſe paid, but obſerved at the time that he was very poor, and that he could not afford it. A third demand on him of 16s. was made by the prieſt, which Donovan refuſed to comply with. On Donovan's going to maſs the following Sunday, he was aſked by the prieſt whether he would pay the 16s. or not; he anſwered, that he was not able. The prieſt rejoined, "I will ſettle you." Terrified at this obſervation, Donovan ſent by his wife 16s. to the houſe of the prieſt, who refuſed then to take leſs than two guineas. On the following Sunday the prieſt curſed from the altar all thoſe who had not paid his demands towards building the chapel. Donovan went on the next holiday to maſs, and was formally excommunicated; and the people denounced as curſed and contaminated if they ſhould deal or hold any communication with him. This threat was ſo effectual, that not one of the country people would ſell a ſod of turf to Donovan to heat his oven, and Donovan could not even ſell in his own name ſuch flour or ſtock which lay on his hands. Reduced almoſt to deſpair from his forlorn ſituation, the baker went in a white ſheet to the chapel as a voluntary penance, and aſked pardon of God and the prieſt for his diſobedience; and was there deſired by the prieſt to attend him to his houſe, where he again demanded from him the two guineas, which Donovan aſſured him he could not poſſibly make up. The excommunication was therefore continued in full force againſt him, and he was conſequently obliged to ſhut up his houſe. The above facts were incontrovertibly proved by two *unwilling* witneſſes. The jury compoſed equally of Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, after a very able charge from the Learned Judge, found a verdict for the Plaintif.—50*l.* *Damages*, and 6*d.* *Coſts*.

On the 15th of October, Father O'Brien the defendant publiſhed a defence of himſelf in ſome of the Iriſh newſpapers, which I find has been reprinted in ſome of the Engliſh public prints. In his defence he denies ſome of the facts ſtated by you, and he ſays, "that I formerly excommunicated him, or prevented any one from dealing with him, is an abſolute miſconception, or falſehood. I declared him, however, under an eccleſiaſtical cenſure; I treated him as ſuch; but while I ſtate this fact, I beg leave to claim ſome indulgence from the conſideration that I had been all this time under the preſſure of exiſting difficulties, from which I had no other means of extricating myſelf, or doing juſtice to the creditors of the church." It is here evident, that Father O'Brien undertook to build a chapel, and that he laid under eccleſiaſtical cenſures ſuch of his pariſhioners as would not contribute to its erection. It does not ſignify how he may denominate this eccleſiaſtical cenſure, as it had the direful effect of ruining the poor baker, by making him a wretched outcaſt and depriving him of all ſocial comfort, even from his neareſt friends and relations.* The main object of Father O'Brien's defence, is to prove that this eccleſiaſtical cenſure was not

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* Father O'Brien's attempt to extricate his very culpable conduct towards the baker, reminds us of the well known anecdote of a Quaker, who being enraged with a dog, ſaid to him, I will not injure thee, but I will give thee a bad name, and he cried out a mad dog, in conſequence of which he was ſtoned to death. EDITOR.

iſſued

iſſued by the deſire or direction of his biſhop, Doctor Coppinger; but it is well known, and daily inſtances prove, that the meaneſt of the Iriſh popiſh prieſts fulminate excommunications againſt their flock, mero motu, and without the ſanction or interference of their ſuperiors, as a matter of ordinary diſcipline; and it is well known alſo, that the ſyſtem of terror which they can at any time exerciſe over their flock, through the means of excommunication, has been the engine which they have employed, for above two centuries, to ſtimulate them into rebellion. In anſwer to Father O'Brien's attempt, in his defence, to palliate his culpable nay criminal conduct, I think it right to declare, that I was preſent at the trial of the action, brought againſt him by the baker: that with the aſſiſtance of one of the jurors, who took notes of the evidence, I drew up a brief ſtatement of the trial, which I inſerted in the Dublin Journal, the only Iriſh paper in which it appeared, and from which it was copied in the Engliſh papers; and you reprinted it with accuracy, except the following trifling error, that Doctor Coppinger is biſhop of Cloyne, and not of Cork, as erroneouſly ſtated by you. But what ſignifies Father O'Brien's endeavouring to palliate his conduct, when it is well known that the Iriſh prieſts make a conſtant practice of excommunicating ſuch of their flocks as may happen not to conform to their wiſhes. A few years ſince, a farmer who was my tenant would have ſtarved, but that I received him into my houſe, for he was deſerted by all his friends and relations in conſequence of being excommunicated; and his only crime was this; he was to be married to his couſin, in the fourth degree which is inadmiſſible in the Romiſh church, without paying a certain ſum of money to the pariſh prieſt for a diſpenſation. This man being too poor to pay it, had recourſe to a neighbouring prieſt, who married him for the uſual and ordinary fee; and for this he was reduced to the loweſt ſtate of human miſery. One M'Carthy, a farmer, was excommunicated in a moſt wanton manner, about three years ago, near Middleton in the County of Cork, by his pariſh prieſt, who in this caſe was actuated by motives of perſonal hatred. He brought an action againſt the prieſt, and recovered 300l. and full coſts. I could give you twenty inſtances of the bad effects of excommunication, which occurred in the province of Munſter alone, within twelve years; and yet the people are in ſuch a ſtate of timid ſubſerviency to their clergy, that I never remember but thoſe two actions brought to obtain redreſs for the dreadful conſequences of excommunication. It was to be hoped, that the reprobation which the culpable conduct of Father O'Brien received from the verdict of a jury, would have checked his ſacerdotal pride and intollerance, and would have awakened in him a ſenſe of juſtice, and a reſpect for the laws of the land; but the following fact proves, that he is reſolved to indulge his arrogant ambition, and to maintain his illegal power without any regard to either. A few days after the action was tried before Judge Day, Donovan, the plaintiff, went to maſs, when, on entering the chapel, Father O'Brien flew into a violent rage, and exclaimed againſt him in the moſt ſevere language of reprobation, ſaying that he was a heretic, and accurſed in the eyes of God and man. He ſaid alſo, that he would diveſt himſelf, that is, take his veſtment off, which he did accordingly; and that he would not ſay maſs if Donovan remained in the chapel. At laſt having worked up his congregation to a high pitch of fanatical fury, he hallood them at Donovan, whom they aſſaulted, and forcibly dragged out of the chapel. Father O'Brien was indicted for, and convicted of, this groſs

breach

breach of the peace, at the laſt Quarter Seſſions for the County of Cork, when it was at the ſame time proved, that this inſolent Prieſt denounced from his altar the ſiſter-in-law of Donovan, and ſaid, that ſhe ſwore no leſs than three falſe oaths on the trial of the actions.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

A FREEHOLDER OF THE COUNTY OF CORK.

We will now appeal to the Britiſh Public, whether the Iriſh Papiſts are capable of appreciating or enjoying the bleſſings of our glorious conſtitution, which they regard with blind veneration, and are in a ſtate of bondage to, their prieſts, an ignorant ſet of men, whoſe education tends to debaſe the underſtanding, to inſpire them with envenomed hoſtility to our inſtitutions, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, and with implicit obedience to the Roman Pontiff, who has never failed, for nearly three centuries, to aid the enemies of the Proteſtant Empire of England, and who, at this time, is the firm friend and ally of the Corſican Tyrant.

Though the Iriſh Roman Catholics are in a much better condition than their Engliſh fellow religioniſts, as to civil liberty and political power, they inſiſt upon what is called by the vulgar and ignorant *emancipation*, as if they were ſlaves; but any attempt of the legiſlature to give them a full and perfect enjoyment of freedom, will be vain, until they emancipate themſelves from an odious ſyſtem of tyranny, which impoſes an illiberal reſtraint on their thoughts and their actions. The Popiſh prieſts, in order to gain a complete aſcendancy over their votaries, and to make them feel the terrific effects of excommunication, begin, when they are but ſeven years old, to infuſe into their minds, ſuch a degree of blind and ſuperſtitious credulity, as weakens and degrades their intellectual powers, deprives the Deity of the reverence due to him, and the King of his allegiance, which is transferred to a foreign Prince. We ſhall now endeavour, briefly, to ſhew the reader the early practice and the dangerous effects of this ſyſtem of terror, deviſed by the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics, in an age of midnight darkneſs, to gain a complete aſcendancy over the laity; and which, in its operation on the human mind, is as much ſuperior to every other ſpring of action, as the power of the lever is to the arm. We ſhall find it occaſionally employed in rivetting the chains of ſlavery on the ſubjects of deſpotic princes, who were implicitly ſubſervient to the Pope, and in exciting and promoting rebellion againſt ſuch ſovereigns as had fortitude enough to reſiſt the inordinate ambition of the Roman Pontiffs.

Pope Innocent III. excommunicated King John, becauſe he oppoſed his inſolent claims; in conſequence of which he was deſerted and reſiſted by his ſubjects, who renounced their allegiance to him. He was at length obliged to ſubmit, to reſign his crown into the hands of that haughty prelate, and to become his feudatory. When the barons laid the foundation of our glorious conſtitution, by obtaining Magna Charta, that odious tyrant, John, appealed to the ſame Pope, who, to ſecond his deſpotic views, iſſued a bill, in which, "*from the plenitude of his apoſtolic power, and from the authority which God had committed to him to build and deſtroy Kingdoms, to plant and to overthrow,*" he vocated and annulled the whole charter, and abſolved the king, and all his ſubjects, from any oaths which they might have taken to obſerve it, and he denounced a general ſentence of excommunication againſt any one *who ſhould perſevere in maintaining ſuch treaſonable and iniquitious pretenſions.*

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Gregory V, in the year 996, excommunicated Richard I, King of France for marrying his Couſin Bertha, without a diſpenſation; tho' ſhe was related to him, but in the 4th degree. He affected to diſregard the excommunication; but he was deſerted by his people, and his Courtiers regarded him with ſuch horror, that they refuſed to any thing which he had contaminated by his touch, "till it was purified by paſſing it thro' the fire."*

In the 11th Century, Pope Gregory VII, by denouncing a ſentence of excommunication againſt the Emperor Henry IV, invoked his ſubjects to riſe in rebellion againſt him, and to join the party of the Pope who meant to deprive him of his crown; and it ſo far extinguiſhed all natural affection in his neareſt relations, that the Empreſs Agnes his mother, the Dutcheſs Beatrix his Aunt, and the Counteſs Matilda his Couſin german, joined the pope's faction to dethrone him, and even levied money, and raiſed troops for that purpoſe. From the 11th to the 15th century, papal excommunications were a fruitful ſource of treaſonable conſpiracies and rebellions in Europe, againſt Sovereign princes; and in conſequence of them, ſome loſt their lives their crowns, and both, in ſome inſtances. In the year 1538, Paul III. excommunicated Henry VIII. and abſolved his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, becauſe he declared himſelf, and not the Pope, to be the head of the Engliſh Church. Queen Mary promoted the burning of her Proteſtant ſubjects, becauſe they were excommunicated heriticks, and becauſe it was enjoyned as a religious duty by various general councils, particularly the 4th Lateran A. D. 1215, in which, as well as in the council of Toledo, it is laid down, "that if the temporal Prince neglect to purge his territories of heretical pravity, notice† muſt be given to the Pope that he may thenceforth pronounce his ſubjects abſolved from their allegiance, and give his dominion to Catholics.‡

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We have now ſhewn the dreadful effects of this dangerous engine of Popiſh ſuperſtition, "*excommunication*;" and we are ſorry to learn, that its influence is as great at this period in Ireland, as it was in any part of Europe, during the dark middle ages. We are well informed, that it has been employed for ſome years paſt, for the purpoſe of extorting money from the multitude, to build large and ſplendid chapels, which have been recently erected in moſt parts of Ireland. But it ſhould be recollected, that it was alſo exerted, ſo early as the year 1792, to levy money in order to promote that rebellion which exploded in 1798. It is ſtated in the report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, framed and publiſhed upon oath, in the beginning of the year 1793, that ſums of money to a conſiderable amount have been levied, upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the kingdom, by ſubſcriptious and collections, *at their chapels*, and elſewhere, ſome of which levies have been made, and ſtill continue to be made, under the authority of a printed circular letter, which has been ſent into all parts of the kingdom, a copy of which letter we think our duty to inſert herein." It appears by the ſame report that "ſtands of arms and ammunition to a conſiderable amount, and much above the common conſumption," were bought and ſent to different parts of the country at ſo early a period as the year 1792. It is univerſally well known, that, during the progreſs of that conſpiracy, which terminated ſo fatally in 1798, the French were frequently ſolicited to invade Ireland; and government are poſſeſed of undoubted proofs, that they have been invited to do ſo ſince the commencement of the preſent war.

We have now ſhewn the reader the terrific effects of excommunication in the Romiſh church, at different periods; and the unbounded influence which it gave the clergy, at all times, is enjoyed in the higheſt degree by the Iriſh Popiſh prieſts *at this time*. If a Catholic prieſt adheres ſtrictly to the canonical oath, which he takes at his ordination, he muſt bear eternal and

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§ Vindiciæ Everſæ P. 173.

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deep-rooted hatred to a Proteſtant ſtate; for he ſwears "to receive and profeſs the ſacred canons and general councils, particularly that of Trent" which recognizes and ſanctions all the impious and blaſphemous doctrines of the 4th Lateran Council. That they do faithfully adhere to this oath, we have the moſt unqueſtionable proofs, by their having acted as inſtigators and incendiaries, in all the rebellions, which have agitated Ireland for above two centuries. While the maſs of the Iriſh Roman Catholics yield implicit obedience to their ſpiritual paſtors, who profeſs ſuch principles, we appeal to the Britiſh Public, whether it will be ſafe to truſt them with political power, or to give them an opportunity of making laws for a Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, which they are bound to ſubvert by the fundamental principles of their religion.

Dr. Croft on Mr. Overton and Co.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

I beg leave to treſpaſs upon your kindneſs in requeſting the inſertion of additional remarks on the conduct of Mr. Overton and Co. as well as all his advocates. Without either inclination or leiſure to enter into the whole controverſy, but abhorring the moſt diſtant idea of an arbitrary, irreſpective, unconditional predeſtination. I feel it my duty to exhort my hearers not to involve themſelves in the diſpute at all, to act upon Chriſtian principles, and according to the admonition of the very 17th articles," to receive the promiſes of God as they are ſet forth in holy writ."

Reſiding in a place full of ſectaries, and where we labour under the additional misfortune of what is called an Evangelical Chapel. I feel myſelf called upon to warn my hearers againſt that variety of deception which is induſtriouſly diſſeminated. If it be true, that all the Clergy of the Church enforce regularly, and in due ſeaſon, all the duties and motives of Chriſtianity, it muſt of courſe follow, that for any individuals to appropriate to themſelves the appellation of Evangelical Miniſters, is a groſs, ſcandalous, and malicious libel againſt every conſcientious Divine who is not of their perſuaſion. Yet, aſſert what we will, the accuſation is continued from year to year by all the Writers on *their* ſide of the queſtion. Expectes eadem a ſummonum imoque, from the Senators down to the meaneſt petty Scribbler. Opinions may differ, but facts admit of no refutation.

It has been inſinuated, that I have heretofore treated the deſcription of men in queſtion with harſhneſs. If the ſtatement of truth be uncharitable, I muſt ſubmit to the charge.

Mr. Milner is now before an awful tribunal. But can it be diſproved that he embittered the life of the amiable Vicar in whoſe Church he preached? Can it be denied that the ſpecimen given was only one among the innumerable inſtances of the meanneſs of his diction, the vulgarity of his language, and though that paſſage was never printed, yet will not the authority of a credible hearer be ſufficient? I called not in queſtion his moral or his religious conduct. I had a pleaſure in hearing that time had abated the violence of his zeal, and that towards the concluſion of his life he was approximating towards, what we deem, ſobriety of intellect. That his life is not well written, and that his ſermons are not good compoſitions, I have the concurring judgment of various individuals, whom it is my duty to reſpect. I have, moreover, authority to ſay, that a trifling anecdote of a

tranſaction

tranſaction in Mr. Sykes's family is not correctly related; and even had it been ſo, it was too inſignificant for inſertion. But modern biography is infected with an inundation of ſimilar traſh. Being informed that Mr. M. was converted by Hooker's Sermon on Juſtification, I have carefully peruſed it, and cannot help wondering how it could poſſibly have the deſcribed effect. Mr. Headlam, in an excellent ſermon on the ſame ſubject, preached at Richmond, in Yorkſhire, has quoted from it, to prove the very reverſe. But Dr. Lawrence, in his Bampton Lectures, has proved, that Luther and Melancthon had the principal ſhare in furniſhing the ſubſtance of the articles in debate; and I frankly confeſs, that if his ſermons, and the notes appended to them, have not ſatisfactorily terminated the controverſy, it will be in vain to produce authentic documents and proofs.

If I think the incumbency of Dr. Coulthurſt a calamity to the pariſh of Haliſax; if he and his curate had exceeded the bounds of modeſty, which is alſo a charge brought againſt Mr. Foſter, at Clerkenwell; if the chapels in the pariſh have been filled as vacancies happened, in the way which I foretold, of what injuſtice have I been guilty? I can look back with heartfelt ſatisfaction, and ſay, that no one has diſproved, or can diſprove, one tittle of what I have written, either againſt fanaticks, or other diſſenters. And how have *I* been treated by them? Mr. Overton is only the bell-wether of the former, as Dr. Prieſtly was for many years of the latter. To my anſwers no reply can be made; but let thoſe who have heard the accuſations brought againſt me, as ſubſcribing articles I do not believe, as perjured, as an advocate of lying and licentiouſneſs, prove, if they can, that I have ever anſwered *the fools according to their folly*. If I ſay that they have done, and continue to do incredible miſchief, I am ſupported by facts, and the teſtimony of all thinking men. If I ſpeak of the tranſactions of Edmund Hall, in the year 1768, with abhorrence; if I wiſh to brand the name of Dr. Dixon with indelible infamy; if I ſuſpect that he was under the guidance of a weak woman, for a converſion ſeldom happens ſo very late in life, have I more than ventured to ſpeak what others dare to think? Let your Readers ſuppoſe themſelves preſent, as I was, in the morning of that curious examination—let them ſuppoſe themſelves to hear two or three miſcreants trying in vain to conſtrue the firſt ſentence of the Univerſity Statutes, while a waggiſh bye-ſtander obſerved, "It was old Buſby ſaid, a thouſand pound for a nominative caſe"—let them learn, that theſe ſaid miſcreants got by rote *the firſt verſes only* of ſeveral chapters of Saint John and the 1ſt Epiſtle to Timothy, in which they foreſaw it was poſſible to be examined for orders—let them not forget the ſubſequent conduct of Mr. Kay, who, being the only claſſical ſcholar of the ſix, obtained a recommendation to the then Biſhop of Lincoln by a palpable falſehood—let them alſo enquire how Mr. Jones, after putting himſelf under the care of a clergyman, was admitted on the ſuppoſition of having recanted—let them farther enquire into the conduct of Mr. Eraſmus Middleton, Rector of Turvey, who ſuffered his name to be prefixed to an illiterate edition of Archbiſhop Leighton's Works, and is now ſuppoſed to be dead—let them find, as I believe they will find, Mr. Grove acting as Diſſenting Calviniſtic Teacher at Walſal, and the groſſneſs of the impoſition upon the Univerſity will appear in its proper colours. I wiſh I could learn the hiſtory of the other two; but Mr. Grove is *now* conſiſtent and irreproachable in his behaviour.

To the preſent Principal of Edmund Hall, I may recommend the example of the Maſter of Magdalen College, in Cambridge. He has moſt effectu-

ally cleanſed his Augean Stable. It is ſaid that the amotion of a Vice Principal is a difficult undertaking, but the admiſſion of Members is certainly diſcretionary: and ſo alſo is the retention of them when admitted. That queſtion has been ſet at reſt, both in the Court of Chancery and in the King's Bench. The Principal may alſo appoint another Tutor or Lecturer, and if any diſpute ariſe, the Vice Chancellor, as Acting Viſitor, can decide. Let certain purchaſers of advowſons provide for Mr. Crouch.

As the old Preſbyter's pamphlet may not be in the hands of many of your Readers, it may not be amiſs to give a ſpecimen of his candour, meekneſs, and charity, p. 9, of Plain Truths.

" If men are bred to the miniſtry as a genteel profeſſion, if their object be to obtain worldly advantages or diſtinctions—if the value of the ſouls of the people and their Redeemer's glory form no part in the conſideration of thoſe who confer or receive their preferment, if the *one conſiders* mere political intereſt or family connexions, and *the other eyes* the ſum of advantage or honour as the principal object of his purſuit, if in the bare traffic the ſmallneſs of the duty or labour and the improveableneſs of the revenue are ſtated as the eligible circumſtances, it is evident ſo far as men entering the Miniſtry, are acting under ſuch motives, it cannot be from the *inward motion of the Holy Ghoſt*, but from the influence *of the God of this world.* Is it then any wonder, nay, is it poſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, that all theſe ſeek their own, not the *things* that are of Jeſus Chriſt: The worldly minded will mind earthly things; the indolent ſlumber over books or in their ſtall, the literary devote their talents to mathematics, metaphyſics, the claſſics inſtead of the Bible, unleſs in the way of criticiſm, and the gay and volatile amuſe themſelves juſt like other men. I mean nothing perſonal, nothing invidious, I merely ſtate facts glaringly obvious." Indeed, Sir! If you do not mean to be a railer, you are, to uſe Dr. Johnſon's expreſſion on another occaſion, the beſt counterfeit I ever ſaw. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with more of this abuſe, but ſhall only repeat that ſome of my moſt valuable friends are reſiding upon purchaſed livings without the charge of ſimoney in them or in their friends, and as conſcientiouſly attentive to the clerical duties as any of the pretended ſons of purity and perfection. Nor is it to be preſumed, that a great number of the clergy ſquander their time in rural ſports merely becauſe a vender chuſes to advertiſe that his living is in a fine ſporting country. It is only exceſs in thoſe diverſions which renders them criminal. The Preſbyters nugatory enquiry how far wealth and ſplendor meliorate the progreſs of religion deſerves not a ſerious anſwer? The examples of many Prelates, both living and dead, might convince him, if any thing would, that learning and piety united with dignity, become more extenſively beneficial. After giving proof of the old Preſbyter's candour, I ſhall perhaps gratify your Readers with a ſpecimen of his oratory, which may have drawn tears from dunces, and of which its brevity is its greateſt beauty —" Pride is the native inmate of every boſom; even martyrs may feel its workings. It is well for them as well as for us that there is one *who bears the iniquity of our holy things.* The blood of atonement muſt be ſprinkled on the expiring corpſe of the martyr in flames, and *but for that,* he would periſh, and they would be eternal," that is from earthly would be turned into hellish flames. Such is the drawcanſir who holds out terror and defiance to the hoſt of Anti-Calviniſts. His motto is,

Ruerem, agerem, zaperem, ſunderem, proſternerem.

And

And while we are on the ſubject of mottos, I have one at hand for a *brother champion* in the ſame cauſe.

Nullum memorabile nomen
Fœmineâ in pœnâ eſt, nec habet victoria laudem.

I have always found a habit in theſe enthuſiaſts of diſparaging human learning, and for the beſt of reaſons, becauſe they have few literary men amongſt them. If Archbiſhop Leighton be a favourite author, why do they not follow his example? But it will interfere with their religious ſtudies. Have they never ſeen diſcourſes where the alliance of all ſtudies in the ſupport of revelation is fully ſtated? The Oxford Act and the Cambridge Commencement, bring the intereſting ſubject into diſcuſſion every year. Yet, whatever may be ſaid, they are ready in perverting the Apoſtle's language, and in ſaying that they are become fools for Chriſt's ſake.

If all mankind were judges of compoſition, nothing could be a more effectual cure againſt fanaticiſm than to hear the tautology, ſlang, and goſſip of *their* preachers. Indeed, how can ſound ſenſe be expected from the extemporaneous effuſions of men, ſome of whom cannot write well, and others can neither write nor ſpeak good Engliſh? But were they to uſe notes, it would be *going upon crutches, it would be quenching the ſpirit.*—Of courſe, they have a gift which implies that they are inſpired. How ſhocking is it, that the name of the bleſſed ſpirit ſhould be thus blaſphemed? What deſperate examples does every year produce, ſufficient to make an intelligent hearer cry out, Unde mihi lapidem? I need not go out of this place to point out abſurdities and nonſenſe. But one man's meat is another man's poiſon, and what ſome call perfumes others call ſtinks.

But we are to pray them down, preach them down, labour them down, and live them down. Suppoſe this was ſaid to regular practitioners in medicine in reference to ſucceſsful that is rich empiricks. Would they not pronounce the individual a proper candidate for Bedlam? In defiance of Mr. Overton's ſneers, and the old Preſbyter's boaſted fulneſs of Schiſm ſhops and *Quaci Schism Shops*, I truſt that the Engliſh clergy, while they omit no part of the Chriſtian ſyſtem, while the ſeveral ſeaſons bring every ſubject in ſucceſſion, will diſdain to be what Biſhop Warburton calls mob-preachers, and that they will endeavour to imitate the ſimplicity as well as the ſublimity of thoſe writings, which are the ſtandard of elegance as well as of truth, which abound with illuſtrations taken from the ſcenes and tranſactions of common life without ever producing a ſingle idea or expreſſion which is vulgar, coarſe, or conceited. What *degree* of aid will be given to the well meant endeavours of man cannot be known, but we may ſafely affirm that the huſbandman may ſooner expect a plentiful harveſt without cultivation and without ſeed, than an illiterate and weak man can become a good compoſer. Enthuſiaſm either finds men fooliſh or makes them ſo; it paralyſes every manly power of the mind, annihilates good ſenſe in matters of religion, rendering it odious, diſguſting, or contemptible, when it is avowedly not only the ſource of happineſs, but the grand object of veneration and love.

I am, Sir, your obedient ſervant,

Birmingham, Jan. 10, 1806. G. CROFT.

P. S. In common with them, moſt of the clergy reſpect the names of Biſhop Horne, and his biographer, Mr. Jones. Have they ever read the

Sermon on Juſtification, by the former? Poor Biſhop Tomline, in common with the reſt of us, is condemned as no true churchman. But let them all know that we have nothing to do with the latitudinarian notions, unhappily chargeable on ſome otherwiſe reſpectable perſons. I endeavoured twenty years ago to vindicate even the damnatory clauſes in the Athanaſian Creed, and to diveſt them of all their terror. In this reſpect, and in not admitting Elohim to imply a Trinity, I differ from many good men, and hope for their indulgence. As to Elohim, I always doubted; and Limborch made me a perfect convert. I feel a ſatisfaction, at this diſtance of time, that at no period of my life ſince I began to ſtudy the Scriptures at all, have I put any other conſtruction upon the articles than the compilers intended, and I may be excuſed for expreſſing a ſincere wiſh that Dr. Lawrence would condenſe his matter into a ſmaller compaſs, for the uſe of the people at large.

The old Preſbyter's ſcraps of Latin remind me of Partridge's quotations from Lilly's Grammar, and his non perſuadebis ehamſi perſuaderis of a divine, who ordered (as he thought, under the authority of the Spectator) the following inſcription upon his monument:

Qualis erat ſupremus ille dies *oſtendebit.*

Defence of the Eſſay on the Engliſh Elements, Accents, and Proſody, &c. reviewed in our 21ſt Volume, P. 416.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

RESIDING in a remote part of His Majeſty's dominions, it was not till within the laſt week that I received the Anti-Jacobin Review for the month of Auguſt, in which you have noticed *an Eſſay on the Engliſh Elements, Accents, and Proſody.* The author of this Eſſay, conſcious of its numerous imperfections, has declared his motive to the publication to have been "the hope of inducing ſome perſon of more leiſure and ability to give every part of the ſubject a thorough inveſtigation." But this hope, he has reaſon to fear, may in part at leaſt, be already defeated; for, in the opinion of the Anti-Jacobin reviewers, which has long been highly and deſervedly reſpected, that part of his work, in which he has attempted to treat of *tone, accent* and *emphaſis*, is delivered in language *myſterious* and *unintelligible*; and whoever takes this to be its true character, muſt be expected to paſs it by, as unworthy of either diſcuſſion or enquiry. Of this formidable objection, he confeſſes that he had no anticipation. On the contrary, he had flattered himſelf that, however defective his work muſt, in other reſpects, appear, his meaning was every where expreſſed with preciſion and perſpicuity. He therefore hopes you will not think him unreaſonable in requeſting a place in your Review for the following ſhort extracts, from which your Readers may have an opportunity of judging for themſelves, how far the book may, in this reſpect, be intitled to a favorable reception.

Having deſcribed the ancient accents, as *inflexions* of the voice, *acute* or *grave*, or *both combined*, he gives the following explanation, derived from ancient authorities—"that an acute accent was an elevation, and a "grave accent a depreſſion of the voice, but that, in this elevation and "depreſſion, the *tone* of the voice was varied, not, as in ſinging, by diſtinct "intervals, but by a *continued* motion, gliding up and down, in a kind "of

" of undulation, from a graver to a ſharper, or from a ſharper to a graver " tone." On this he obſerves that, " in ſuch a movement, whatever be " the interval from tone to tone, through which the voice may glide, it " can never *dwell* for an inſtant on any tone whatever ;"--and here he points out that ambiguity of term, by which he ſuppoſes Commentators and others have been led to deny the exiſtence of any thing like the ancient accents in modern languages. " The words ὀξυτης and βαρυτης, acute- " neſs and gravity, when applied to the accents of ſpeech, denote indeed a " change of tone, but a change of a peculiar kind. An acute accent, for " inſtance, began in a certain tone (to be taken, ad libitum, any where " within the compaſs of the voice) and ended in a higher; the voice " paſſing, always rapidly though not always with the ſame velocity, from " the one tone to the other, not *perſaltum*, but in one *continued ſound*, which " might be compared to a waving line, commenſurate with the length of " the ſyllable and generated by the flowing of a point. This motion of " the voice was accordingly deſignated by a very expreſſive term, φυσις, " as diſtinguiſhed from διαστημα, the *interval*, by which ſharper and " graver ſounds, in muſic, are always *ſeparated*. For, in ſinging, the voice " does not glide, but *leaps* from tone to tone." To this he ſubjoins Euclid's definition—" κινησεις δυο, ἡ μεν συνεχης και λογικη ἡ δε διαστηματικη τε και μελωδικη—two kinds of motion, one continued and peculiar to ſpeech, the other deſultory and appropriate to ſong.

The object here in view, and which is afterwards purſued in diſcuſſing ſeveral authorities and opinions, ancient and modern, was to give an accurate idea of that difference between the *tones of ſpeech* and *muſical tones*, which has always been univerſally *felt*, but ſeems not yet to be well *underſtood*. Among other explanatory remarks, it is ſtated that " in the diaſtematic " muſic, the intervals are paſſed by a ſilent flight : that is, the ſound of " the voice or inſtrument is heard only at thoſe diſtinct *points* of tone, which " are the boundaries of theſe intervals. But in the muſic of ſpeech, the " ſound of the voice is heard only in its paſſage from one tone to another :— " that the tone of every *muſical* ſound is immutable ; for whenever it " becomes in the ſmalleſt degree ſharper or flatter, that is to ſay, of a " different tone, the ſound, as a muſical element, is no longer the ſame. " But the eſſence of a Greek accent conſiſted in a *continual rapid variation of* " *tone*. This variation took place on every ſyllable ; for otherwiſe the " two *genera* of ſong and ſpeech muſt have been every inſtant running the " one into the other, and producing a diſcordant mixture, univerſally " diſguſting. Every ſyllable, therefore, muſt have been uttered either " with an acute, a grave, or a circumflex accent."

This explanation is alſo put to the teſt of an experiment, firſt made by Mr. Steele, and acknowledged by Lord Monboddo to be concluſive, no only as making the ancient deſcriptions of accent perfectly intelligible, but as a proof that we have now, in our own and other modern languages, a *melody of ſpeech*, conſiſting of accents in all reſpects of a ſimilar kind.

" With a finger on the 4th ſtring of a violoncello, and a correſpond- " ing motion of the bow, he (Mr. Steele) was able, by ſliding the fingers " rapidly up and down on the ſtring, to imitate the *tones of* ſpeech, in ſuch " manner as not only to prove the fact, that we have accents, grave, acute " and circumflex, but alſo to aſcertain their perfect agreement in every

" particular, with the Greek definitions and deſcriptions above referred to. " This experiment may with eaſe be repeated, in ſuch manner as to re- " move all doubt of the fact, that the tone of the voice, in ſpeaking, is " varied by the rapid undulations here deſcribed: though to do this with " all the nice preciſion neceſſary for rendering the imitation perfect, would " require not only a quick and accurate ear, but the hand of a ſkilful per- " former."

This being then no longer a doubtful ſpeculation, but a queſtion of fact, confirmed by actual experiment, it will not be denied that the ſubject is worthy of minute attention, and if this can be ſo far excited as to give the melody of our ſpeech a chance not only of being underſtood, but of receiving thoſe practical improvements of which it may be ſuſceptible, the author's ambition will be fully gratified, in having contributed to bring the ſubject into public notice and diſcuſſion.

He will now, Mr. Editor, preſume to treſpaſs no further on your indulgence, than to inform you, that his book having been printed in his abſence, ſome corrections which had been tranſmitted in a letter to the Publiſher, appear to have eſcaped his notice. In particular, the remarks which you have juſtly cenſured—that " every ſyllable in ſuch poſition is ſhort and emphatic," was noted among the *delenda*. It may perhaps be thought that the compariſon of *vocal ſound* with a *waving line* ought alſo to have been ſo noted: and yet the uſual phraſes of *vocal inflexion* and *flexibility of voice* do in fact imply ſuch a compariſon.

EXTEMPORE PREACHING.

Mr. Editor!

EITHER the love of change, or the love of ſubverſion has recently made lamentable havock in the moral, political and religious eſtabliſhments of ſociety. Men aſſuming to themſelves the flattering title of philoſopers; and, hungring and thirſting after the applauſe of the ignorant, and the ſpoils of the rich, have endeavoured to perſuade us that our old and inſtinctive habits of thinking concerning the duties of life are erroneous; that forms and eſtabliſhments either of government or religion, are founded in prejudice and error, and ought therefore to be aboliſhed. The experiment of reducing theſe mad theories to practice has been tried in our vicinage; and the reſult is before us: a nation without morals—without religion; alike contemners of the laws of man and of God! theſe calamities preſent to the diſciples of innovation an awful and impreſſive leſſon of the neceſſity of making a ſolemn pauſe, when they are projecting the moſt trifling change even in the forms of *government* or *religion*. I have been led, Sir, to theſe reflections, by obſerving with much regret a moſt daring innovation which has recently taken place in the practice of *ſeverrl Clergymen* of the Church of England. The innovation to which I allude is that of *extempore preaching*. It is a palpable defiance of authority; and which I ſeriouſly conceive is meant to be the precurſor of other changes of the moſt awful nature.

It may not be unneceſſary in this place ſuccinctly to ſtate the reaſon by which the Church has been directed, in enjoining its ſervants to preach from written diſcourſes: it was rightly preſumed to be the moſt effectual means of placing a bridle and curb on the unpremeditated effuſions of ignorant

rant fanaticiſm; and of diffuſing the words of the goſpel in the language of temperance—in the ſpirit of *ſoberneſs* and *truth*. The event, juſtifies the wiſdom on which the practice is founded. Compare the mild tenour of our bleſſed Lord's preaching, with the diſguſting, inflated, and ſometimes blaſphemous jargon of the conventicles: to imitate (and at beſt we can do no more) the ſimplicity and force which characterize our Saviour's diſcourſes, was the wiſe, and pious aim of the Church in enjoining its miniſters to preach from written ſermons. The contemplation of the cloſet, when the mind is abſtracted from the hurry and confuſion of external diſtracting objects, was properly conceived as preferable to the diſorder and confuſion of a diſcourſe ſtruck out at a heat, and partaking of all the deformity of a premature production.

But the lovers of ranting will, perhaps, diſpute the poſition of its having, from the firſt promulgation of Chriſtianity, been the practice of its miniſtry to preach from written diſcourſes. But the objection is beſide the queſtion—at the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, times and circumſtances did not perhaps concur to the adoption of that œconomy which a more quiet period, and a happier ſtate of ſociety, rendered expedient for the conſervation of the Church.

"All things cannot be of ancient continuance which are expedient and needful for the ordering of ſpiritual affairs: but the Church being a body which dieth not, hath always power, as occaſion requireth, no leſs to ordain that which never was, than to ratify what hath been before. To preſcribe the order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogative which *wiſdom* hath as queen or ſovereign commander over other virtues. This in every ſeveral man's actions of common life appertaineth unto *moral*; in public and politic ſecular affairs unto *civil* wiſdom. In like manner, to deviſe any certain form for the outward adminiſtration of public duties in the ſervice of GOD, or things belonging thereunto, and to find out the moſt convenient for that uſe, is a point of wiſdom eccleſiaſtical." To this reaſoning of the venerable Hooker, I am certain that every lover of the Church eſtabliſhment will moſt heartily give his concurrence.

Perhaps the miniſters to whom I allude, and whom I reprobate may be deſirous of an intercommunity with the Methodiſts. Surely the flattering diſtinction of "Goſpel miniſters" has not ſeduced them? Have they deliberately conſidered the nature of the new fellowſhip? let them remember, and I ſpeak in a warning voice, that the members of that ſect, independent of doctrinal points, have a rooted and marked averſion to lawn ſleeves—to all the becoming proviſions,—decencies and decorations of the eſtabliſhment; to the whole ſyſtem, letter and ſpirit of Eccleſiaſtical polity eſtabliſhed amongſt us. "Deacons, prieſts, biſhops and revenues, ſavour of the mammon of unrighteouſneſs, and ought therefore to be aboliſhed." That they reaſon ſo, is a fact.

That miniſters of the order which they deſpiſe, and would willingly deſtroy, ſhould give a ſanction to theſe reaſonings by their practice, is at once a violation of decency and prudence, which no excuſe, no palliation can remove or juſtify. The Church of England has long been an eye-ſore to the rabble of fanaticiſm: who, vainly arrogating to themſelves a peculiar ſanctity of manner, and affecting to deſpiſe the ample bounty of Providence, would willingly perſuade us that their only aim is an approximation to the virtue and a deſire to undergo the many privations of the firſt

Chriſtians. But, Sir, in England moſt of us conceive that it is envy and malignity towards thoſe who are often the beginners of their own fortune, and not a love of the ſelf-denial and mortification of the ancient church, that ſome look aſkance at the diſtinctions and honours, and revenues, which, taken from no perſon, are ſet apart for virtue. The ears of the people of England are diſtinguiſhing. They hear theſe men ſpeak broad. Their tongue betrays them. Their language is the *patois* of fraud; in the cant and gibberiſh of hypocriſy.

The people of England muſt think ſo when theſe praters affect to carry back the clergy to that primitive evangelic poverty, which, in ſpirit, ought always to exiſt in them, (and in us too, however we may like it) but in the thing muſt be varied, when the relation of that body to the ſtate is altered; when manners, when modes of life, when indeed the whole order of human affairs has undergone a total revolution. We ſhall believe thoſe reformers to be then honeſt enthuſiaſts, not as now we think them, *cheats* and *deceivers*, when we ſee them throwing their own goods into common, and ſubmitting their own perſons to the auſtere diſcipline of the early Church! let the innovators reflect on this.

The extempore preachers of the Church of England, no doubt will tell us, that it is a matter in itſelf indifferent, whether they inculcate the doctrines of the ſcriptures from the chaſtiſed meditation of the cloſet; or, truſting to the immediate interpoſition of the Holy Spirit, deliver themſelves agreeably to the *happy* ſuggeſtions of the moment. It is not the thing itſelf ſo much which I condemn, but the defiance of authority and violation of canonical rule in which the danger lies. Rules and diſcipline have hitherto been a means, under the direction of Providence, of conſerving the eſtabliſhment itſelf. And ſurely for thoſe to weaken the authority of the Church by a diſregard of its practice whoſe real intereſt it is to uphold it, is not only not indifferent, but reprehenſible in the higheſt degree. The thirty-fourth article of the Church of England tells us, that "whoever, through his private judgment willingly and purpoſely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the word of GOD, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like) as one that offendeth againſt the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magiſtrate, &c." The Extempore preachers, therefore, cannot plead ignorance in order to excuſe themſelves.

The ſafeſt way to overturn an eſtabliſhment, is firſt to deny thoſe ſubordinate branches of it, which are perhaps of no great importance—The ground being broken up, a ſecond advance is made toward the deſtruction of ſomething more important, ſo on to the conſummation of the grand miſchief—the demolition of the fabric itſelf. The "goſpel preachers" having firſt brought into diſrepute the wiſdom and policy of preaching from written diſcourſes, aſſuming courage from ſucceſs, will denominate the ſurplice the ſ—— k of the w——e of Babylon, away goes this "relic of ſuperſtition;" proceeding progreſſively and conſiſtently with themſelves, they will finally attack their ſuperiors as a ſecular and corrupt ariſtocracy inconſiſtent with the meekneſs and humility of the examples of Chriſt and his apoſtles. The conſequence is foreſeen—the total ruin of the Church of England.

That the miniſters to whom I allude have erred willingly and through their private judgment, is a fact beyond diſpute: that they ought to be rebuked

rebuked, and that with exemplary ſeverity, the very exiſtence of the Church of England eſtabliſhment moſt imperiouſly demands. And I moſt humbly conceive that it is the paramount duty of the dignified clergy, to interfere; and in order to break the ſpirit of further meditated incroachments, it is an equal duty to interpoſe their proper authority, coerce the delinquents, and remedy the abuſe.

I have thus, Mr. Editor, pointed out to you both a notorious innovation, and the probable conſequences of it, ſoliciting a place in your Journal, with the moſt confident hope that ſuch a medium will convey the evil to the notice of that authority which is alone competent to correct it.

Reſpectfully, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

JUVENIS.

The Methodistical Missionaries in Otaheite.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

HAVING lately heard the "ſighings and regrets" of ſeveral devout "goſpellers" on the probable failure of the Miſſionaries in Otaheite, I am induced, to offer a few obſervations on the cauſes which have contributed to defeat the pious aim of theſe "choſen veſſels" to chriſtianize the ſavages of the Pacific Ocean: an undertaking which is at once a monument of their ignorance and folly. It is well known that the inhabitants of Otaheite and the circumjacent iſlands, are but a few degrees removed from the ſtate of nature, poſſeſſing ſcarcely any notion of the elements of morals, a knowledge of right and wrong. Yet upon the minds of theſe beings a futile attempt has been made to engraft a ſpiritual ſyſtem, which before it can be rightly comprehended, demands not only a perception of the boundaries which mark vice and virtue, but requires a conſiderable progreſs in civilization and refinement. The religion of Chriſt appeared amongſt mankind in the "fulneſs of time." The Romam empire was at its height; its arms and its arts, extended far and wide—and had ſubdued the ferocity of the greater portion of the known world. He whoſe means and ends are perfect wiſdom, choſe this peculiarly adapted period, for the divine miſſion of Chriſt, for the introduction of a purely ſpiritual ſyſtem. The leading men of the ancient world, contemporary with our Bleſſed Lord, had reached the ſummit of elegance and philoſophy: and, had diffuſed the ſpirit of theſe, amongſt every people whom their valour had ſubdued. Chriſtianity appeared, therefore, at the happy moment, when the minds of men by previous diſcipline were fully capable of comprehending its ſublime truths; and when every human facility exiſted for its wide and univerſal diſperſion.

It could be proved, perhaps, that both the moral and phyſical habits of men, ſhould bear an analogy to their religion; and I venture this aſſertion, without meaning the leaſt diſparagement to Chriſtianity. Monteſquieu, who was ſo deeply read in the knowledge of humanity, and who was a ſincere Chriſtian tells us, that "there are many local laws in various religions; and, when Montezuma with ſo much obſtinacy inſiſted that the religion of the Spaniards was good for their *(own)* country, and his for Mexico, he did not aſſert an abſurdity, becauſe in fact legiſlators could never help having a regard to what *nature had eſtabliſhed before them.*

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" The opinion of the metemphychoſis is adapted to the climate of the Indies. An exceſſive heat burns up all the country; they can breed but very few cattle; they are always in danger of wanting them for tillage; their black cattle multiply but indifferently; and they are ſubject to many diſtempers; a law of religion which preſerves them is therefore moſt ſuitable to the policy of the country."

This citation from the "Spirit of Laws," and indeed the whole of Monteſquieu's celebrated performance may be of great uſe to the next ſhip-load of Miſſionaries.* It is a profane book, and they may regret the advice. But I can venture to aſſure them that it contains more real practical wiſdom, than can be found in all the ſermons of all the fanatical declaimers who have ever diſturbed and diſgraced Chriſtianity. Before theſe *self-elected* children of Grace attempt to reaſon to the ſavages of the Southern Ocean upon the neceſſity of the ſoul's ſalvation, they would do well to convince their untutored pupils, that they have a ſoul to be ſaved. And before they expatiate upon a ſtate of final retribution hereafter, they would act wiſely to amend their lives in this preſent ſublunary ſtate. Before they taught theſe poor creatures to fly to Heaven, they ſhould have inſtructed them how to walk ſafely on earth. If they follow this neceſſary progreſſion they may perhaps ſucceed. But not till then.

It appears clearly, therefore, that the Miſſionaries have begun at the wrong end; and have made an attempt to conſtruct the roof without the leaſt thought of laying a ſtone towards the foundation. From ſuch architects who could expect a ſuperſtructure?

Firſt of all in the unintelligibly jargon of their ſect, they preach to theſe poor creatures on the original depravity of their nature, without imparting to them, or endeavouring ſo to do, what that nature is; then upon the difficult ſubject of the atonement, which many men even of ſtrong minds, improved by education, but feebly comprehend; in this attempt they have hitherto met with inſuperable difficulty. The poor iſlanders cannot be perſuaded but that hogs will ſufficiently anſwer the purpoſe as a ſatisfaction for their crimes. "We find it impoſſible" ſays the compiler of the Miſſionary tranſactions, when writing of the natives of Otaheite "to make thoſe (*whom*) we have to do with ſenſible of their ſoul's value, or indeed what their ſouls are; for the generality of them ſeem to conceive that it is ſomething out of them rather than in them; that it reſides in the *Po*, or other world, and only comes at certain ſeaſons, as when they dream, &c. When we endeaveur to ſpeak to them (*rather reason with, or explain to them*) about the *hidden man of the heart*, its nature, qualities, deficiements, expoſure to God's wrath, and way how to eſcape the ſame, they ſeldom fail to laugh and treat it as an idle tale."

I candidly acknowledge, Mr. Editor, that I too, have had ſome little difficulty in ſuppreſſing the riſible faculties of my mind, on peruſing ſuch canting ſtuff, ſo admirably ſuited to the meridian of Moorfields. As might have been foreſeen theſe fanatical medlers have not made a ſingle convert among

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* We earneſtly recommend to our able correſpondent a re-conſideration of the tendency of this doctrine of Monteſquieu, one inference from which would be (and an inference which might on *his* hypotheſis, be ſupported with great plauſibility) that the Chriſtian religion is not adapted to every nation and climate.

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the Otaheitans; and, never will unleſs they purſue a courſe very oppoſite to that which has continued to mark their very injudicious and ill-conducted miſſion; and I cannot but conſider it as a ſtrong proof both of preſumption and vanity on the part of the Miſſionaries thus to arrogate to themſelves the means of accompliſhing ſuch an undertaking; fancying themſelves the choſen inſtruments of God to extend the light of the Goſpel into new regions, they have not only excited the juſt reprehenſions of ſenſible and pious minds; but have actually ſullied the luſtre of religion itſelf: and have given too much occaſion to doubting minds to ſuſpect the efficacy of a ſyſtem, which under ſuch management has produced no other fruit than "chaff and ſtubble." Their prayers, their faſtings and hypocritical fervour, have been of no avail in attempting to break in upon the hidden deſigns of Providence; who, it appears whenever it ſhall ſeem to him meet, will moſt probably employ a fitter agency to accompliſh his purpoſe than a number of ignorant and vainly ambitious men, who are neither illumined by the ſpirit of pure Chriſtianity, nor rendered qualified for the purpoſe, by the acquiſitions of learning, and an attention to the arts of civil life.

They will tell us that they meant well and that they have obeyed what they conceived to be the divine and irreſiſtible impulſe of the Holy Spirit. So did John Matthias, and his coadjutor, the taylor of Leyden, and their followers at Munſter, on another occaſion, and ſo will evey new ſect of fanaticiſm which may hereafter ariſe. Men of this character miſtaking the mad extravagance of religious inſanity for heavenly delegation, have done uncommon miſchief, and have weakened the divine authority of religion more than the direct attacks of its moſt learned adverſaries, or indeed of any cauſe which has hitherto obſtructed its progreſs. For ſurely they who are of no religion, and yet with perhaps to aſcertain the truth, muſt think lightly of Chriſtianity when they ſee men, whom they had been led to conſider as acting by divine commiſſion, alternately evincing the ſimplicity of fools and the hypocriſy and miſchievous deſigns of knaves.

JUVENIS.

Mr. M'Callum's Vindication of his Travels againſt the Cenſures of the Anti-Jacobin Review.

WHEN we firſt eſtabliſhed our Review, we announced our determination to afford, to all Writers, whoſe Works might be cenſured in it, an opportunity of appealing to the public in their own vindication. To this determination we have ſtrictly adhered. In purſuance of it we now inſert, *verbatim et literatim*, Mr. Mac Callum's Letter, in juſtification of his own Travels: though written, at leaſt parts of it, in ſuch intemperate language, as would fully authoriſe our refuſal to inſert it. We ſhall only allow ourſelves to make one comment on its contents, viz. that it ſupplies no anſwer to the principal objections of the Critic; founded on Mr. Mac Callum's violent attack upon an Officer againſt whom proceedings had been commenced, with a view to bring him to trial by a Competent Tribunal. And againſt all ſuch attempts to bias the minds of thoſe who are to ſit in judgment upon perſons accuſed, we have invariably ſet our faces; and, indeed, it is proper to apprize Mr. Mac Callum, that they are reprobated by the Laws of the Land, and are, in fact, indictable offences.

TO

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

JUSTICE to my political principles require that I ſhould trouble you with a few obſervations on the criticiſm, inſerted in the laſt number of your Review on my Travels in Trinidad. The author of it, if I am not miſtaken, is one of the party, whoſe infamy I have ſo fully detected, ſo amply expoſed, and dragged before a Britiſh public, arrayed in all their native turpitude. I am told by this Critic (if I may ſo call him) that my conduct in this inſtance, is not only culpable, but "*preſumptive and ignorant,*" for not having "*committed to the flames the manuſcript*" of the volume, which charges Col. Picton and his ſatellites, with ſome of the heavieſt crimes the laws of England have the power of puniſhing, and, that what I have done in the cauſe of oppreſſed humanity, will *exist as a monument of my folly and indiscrétion!*" It may ſo, but I am certain I ſhall never repent the voluntary ſhare I have taken, in repreſenting the political grievances of the oppreſſed inhabitants of Trinidad, which I expect, will ere long, become the ſubject of Parliamentary inveſtigation; when the horrid ſcenes that were acted in that colony, will be fully and fairly elucidated, and a proper example made of its delinquents. I am not aſhamed to tell the world, that I enjoyed a great ſhare of the friendſhip and confidence of General Touſſaint, who was ſacrificed by the duplicity of that cold blooded miſcreant, Le Clerc. I would have ſhared the ſame fate, but for the fortunate circumſtance of His Majeſty's ſhip Cerberus, then commanded by the brave and diſtinguiſhed officer, Capt. Macnamara, arriving at Cape Francois the ſame evening I was to have been arreſted, who generouſly protected me from the fangs of the blood hounds of France. The American Conſul, Mr. Lear, from what cauſe I know not, thought it proper to denounce me to Le Clerc, ſaying that I had been General Touſſaint's principal adviſer, who had acted entirely by my advice, in deſtroying all the Seaport-towns. Being appriſed of Le Clerc's intentions, I eſcaped on board the Cerberus, and communicated my fears to Capt. Macnamara, who next morning had an interview with Le Clerc, the reſult of which, was, that Mr. Lear was ordered to leave the Colony in twenty-four hours. Notwithſtanding my having gained this point, and a ſtrong aſſurance of protection from Le Clerc, I knew that I was not for a moment ſafe, prudence, therefore, urged me to comply with Capt. Macnamara's advice—leave the iſland, which I did, and returned to the United States. Finding that Trinidad had been finally confirmed to this country, and had long an anxious wiſh to viſit it before I returned to England, I made up my mind of embarking for it by the firſt convenient veſſel, but in the mean, I amuſed myſelf in writing againſt Le Clerc, for his duplicity towards the virtuous Touſſaint, entitled "Letters from the Ruins of Cape Francois," publiſhed in the New York Daily Advertiſer, and were highly approved of, by the friends of this country, though ſtigmatized by the jacobin papers of that Continent; as the production of a Britiſh ſpy. Theſe letters were regularly tranſmitted to Le Clerc: and I have the ſatisfaction to ſay, that they (if I am rightly informed) contributed to break his heart: therefore, my pen drove from this world one of the revolutionary monſters of regicide France.

On my arrival in Trinidad I purſued, with ardour, an anxious enquiry into the conduct of the delinquents of that colony, the reſult of my laborious

rious inveſtigation is fully and accurately detailed in an octavo volume now before the public, who will no doubt judge of the purity of motives, emanating alone from a love of juſtice; even at the riſk of my life, without the proſpect of any further reward, than the pleaſing reflection of having performed my duty to an oppreſſed portion of my fellow ſubjects!

It has been vainly and conſtantly urged, by theſe delinquents, as a plea for thoſe wanton ſeverities I have recorded, that the Colony was a "*prey to diſloyalty and inſubordination*;——*The ſeeds of civil commotion had ſtruck wide and deep, and every nerve of jacobinism was exerted, to wreſt the poſſeſſion from the controul of legitimate authority*;——*The French declaration of the Rights of Man, and the whine and cant of Methodiſtical reformers about negro ſlavery, had poiſoned the minds of the inhabitants, who again ſpread the contagion among the ſoldiery and the negroes*:——*The ſpirit of diſorder was widely diſſeminated*;——*The troops in the garriſon repeatedly evinced a diſpoſition to inſubordination, and unhappily requiring the moſt ſummary examples of puniſhment.*"

The proof of all this reſt wholly on mere palpable aſſertions. It is a well known fact, and I can prove it by the concurrent teſtimony of many reſpectable gentlemen from Trinidad, who are now in London, that the Colony was not in any one inſtance, ſince it was conquered in 1797, a prey, either to diſloyalty or inſubordination, not even among the ſoldiers and negroes; and, therefore, your Critic aſſertions is as infamouſly falſe as the whole is unfounded. I now call upon, and dare him to come forward (not like a cowardly aſſaſſin) and prove in an open and manly manner to the people of England, what he ſo very malignantly alledges againſt the dutiful and loyal inhabitants, ſoldiary, and oppreſſed negroes of Trinidad. We are both of us now before the public, therefore an ample opportunity is here opened to himſelf, and the reſt of the delinquents, to clear themſelves of the heavy charges I have brought againſt them, all which I poſitively affirm came to my knowledge whilſt I was in that iſland, whether in "*ſhreds and patches from itinerant politicians*," does not by any means diminiſh their authenticity. In regard to truth, it makes no difference to me, whether I receive it from either a lord or a beggar. I have already ſtated the reaſons why Col. Fullarton withdrew himſelf from the Commiſſion, one of which was, that he could not conſiſtently with his own character, act with a man who had been guilty of ſo many outrages; and until Colonel Picton cleared himſelf of the horrid charges brought againſt him, by the greater portion of the inhabitants; there could be no intercourſe till his Majeſty's pleaſure was known; independent of that the duties of his Commiſſion required his abſence from the ſeat of Government. This Critic inſinuates ſome other motive, and wiſhes the world to believe, that there was ſome ſecret underſtanding between the Colonel and myſelf, which is as great a falſhood as he could utter.——He ſays "*for reaſons unknown to us, and which a future day muſt develope, the firſt Commiſſioner ſeparated himſelf from his colleagues, and left the iſland; but Mr. M'Callum remained behind, no doubt with the pureſt motives to correct the evils of its adminiſtration! He is not the only unaccredited agent who has aſſumed to himſelf the important task of Government mending; and we ſhrewdly ſuſpect, that the buſineſs is not new to him. B. G. Picton and Commodore Hood ſeem to have entertained the ſame opinion; as the ſequel will prove.* The "ſequel" as he calls it, proves only a negative! It is true I remained behind, but what of that? I was not in Colonel Fullarton's ſuit, he had, therefore, no knowledge of me whatever, than as a traveller, and during the time I was

in

in the Colony, I only viſited him twice, I wiſh I had oftener; but my time was otherwiſe engaged in obtaining uſeful information. There is, however, an artful malignity conveyed in this inſinuation:—"*Mr. Mac Callum remained behind.*" The delinquents with it to be underſtood, that I remained behind at the Colonel's requeſt to foment diſturbance, if that is their meaning, I can only tell you, Sir, that it is falſe, as well as that of my being a government mender—.Inſinuations of this nature, are too contemptible to be noticed by any man of common ſenſe, for calumny is ever the revenge of a coward; and concealment his defence.

At the time it was attempted to force me to enliſt in the volunteer corps, the Colony was, as it had hitherto been ſince it was conquered by the Britiſh arms; in a profound ſtate of tranquillity and ſecurity, the mother country was at the ſame time, at peace with the whole world; no invaſion; no internal commotion, neither dreaded nor expected:—HenceCommiſſioners Picton and Hood, had no excuſe—no right, either human or divine, to warrant them in compelling me, as a mere tranſitory perſon, to enliſt in any one corps whatever. His Majeſty is not inveſted with ſufficient power to compel his ſubjects, to enroll themſelves in a volunteer corp, or corps, in the time of profound peace; therefore he cannot give it to his delegates:—In forcing me to enliſt, was merely a pretence, they were well aware that I underſtood the nature of the Britiſh Conſtitution better than to ſuffer ſo daring an encroachment on my liberty, but nevertheleſs, they thought it a glorious opportunity, in the way of oppreſſion, to ſeize my papers, and if poſſible to deſtroy the records of their own infamy. They were, however, thank heaven! diſappointed, and for their diſappointment, I was doomed to a rigorous confinement, in a loathſome dungeon, where poiſon was artfully adminiſtered by the monſter Valot, and was, in a ſtate of the moſt excruciating torture dragged ignominiouſly by an unfeeling band of negro ſoldiers, through the ſtreets of Port of Spain to Commodore Hood's houſe, and by way of refinement in the art of oppreſſive cruelty, they even denied me medical aid;—But your Critic ſays, it "*does not appear that during his confinement he experienced, or ſuffered any privation of a rigorous or unfeeling nature.*"

Had I tranſgreſſed againſt the laws of the Colony, why were not the commiſſioners liberal enough, to give me a fair and honourable trial? If there was not law enough in the Colony competent or applicable to my caſe, was it not their duty to ſend me to England to be tried? No, Sir, they knew I was innocent, and under the ſhield of innocence I now appeal to juſtice. But they baſely took the law in their own hand, and baniſhed the only perſon exiſting, who had it in his power to proclaim their infamy to the world. They fondly expected, by tranſporting me to America, in a veſſel having the yellow fever on board, that I would oblige them, in making my exiſt to another world:——God, however, preſerved me to ſcourge my oppreſſors,—the delinquents of Trinidad, and bring them to the bar of juſtice.

A long and painful illneſs (in conſequence of the poiſon which was adminiſtered to me by the tool of ill-delegated power) neceſſarily detained me in exile. As ſoon as my health was perfectly reſtored, I returned to England, and finding on my arrival, that Colonel Picton was not brought to trial, nor any likelihood of it, I came forward boldly, and ſingle handed to accuſe him, ſimilar to Cicero in the caſe of Verres, the old delinquent of Sicily.

Pray,

Pray, let me aſk your Critic, what aſſimulation is there between Colonel Johnſtone's and Colonel Picton's caſe, unleſs, indeed, that Major Gordon came forward to accuſe the one, and I came forward to accuſe the other, for according to the laws of England, there muſt be an accuſer. It is the opinion of many high and diſtinguiſhed characters in this country, that had "*Mac Callum died in America, Colonel Picton would never be brought to trial.*" The reaſon why he has not been brought to condine puniſhment, is yet reſerved for me to elucidate, which I ſhall certainly perform in my next volume. I have heard of grants of land, made to two noble Lords (one a certain delinquent Lord) with no other view than to ſcreen Col. Picton and his panders.

The proof of theſe grants has been deſtroyed, along with other *papers*. Notwithſtanding, I can call upon five Members of Parliament to prove the tranſaction, and I now pledge myſelf to the public to give a fair and candid hiſtory of the influence; which Colonel Picton commands.

With regard to the charges I have brought forward againſt the notorious delinquents of Trinidad, they may publiſh what they pleaſe againſt me, I have truth on my ſide, and will confound their miſrepreſentations. They dare not meet me on equal ground, with the ſacred armour of truth, becauſe they poſſeſs only the periſhable weapons of falſhood. They well know, that a plain tale, every word of which, is marked with the ſtrong emphaſis of ſincerity, will carry conviction to every impartial reader; for truth, if we eſteem it at all, is as impenetrable as adamant; and as laſting as the world.

PIERRE F. M'CALLUM.

Great Ruſſell-ſtreet, Bloomsbury,
14th January, 1806.

On Friendly Societies.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

I WAS extremely concerned at an obſervation which fell from your pen, demonſtrative of your unfavourable opinion of FRIENDLY SOCIETIES in general, in the courſe of your review of Mr. Roſe's pamphlet "*On the Poor Laws, and on the Management of the Poor*, &c." which occurs at page 158 of your Magazine for June, 1805. In mentioning the circumſtance of Mr. Roſe having "recommended, at the cloſe of his obſervations, a more favourable attention to friendly ſocieties, &c." you are pleaſed to add: "If he [Mr. Roſe] had ſeen ſo much of Benefit Societies as we have, he would, we incline to believe, *think very differently of them.** And to corroborate this opinion, you immediately add: "If he [Mr. Roſe] will apply for information on this ſubject, to acting magiſtrates *in the metropolis*, he will learn that, *there at leaſt*, ſuch ſocieties are the ſources of *endleſs contention, impoſition, and fraud.*" I repeat once more, Sir, that I am truly concerned that your expe-

* This arguing *generally* againſt the *uſe* of theſe Societies from the *abuſe* of them is what I did not expect to find in your review. I think them capable, when well managed, of producing manifold advantages.

rience

rience of the effects of friendly ſocieties in the metropolis ſhould have induced you to form ſo bad an opinion of them; and that you ſhould deem it neceſſary to make that opinion public. I will take the liberty, Sir, of giving you my reaſon for the regret which I have expreſſed, and which I really feel; and then will ſtate the reaſon of my having formed a different opinion of theſe inſtitutions.

I am a conſtant ſubſcriber, and as conſtant a reader of your miſcellany, and to the juſtice and propriety of your ſentiments I *very generally* agree. I know that your magazine and review has a very wide circulation, and that as it is calculated only to pleaſe loyal men, and the moſt virtuous and uſeful members of ſociety, the effect which the ſentiments it contains may have upon ſuch perſons, is, in my humble opinion, of the utmoſt importance. In particular, Sir, the unfriendly ſentiment which you have expreſſed towards theſe *friendly societies*, may have very injurious effects upon them. It may, and it muſt have theſe ill effects, if it turns the minds of ſeveral perſons againſt them who are at preſent conſiderably biaſſed in their favor.

You inform us, Sir, that the evils of which you complain, exiſt, to your own knowledge, *in the metropolis*; and, I cannot doubt, that you have ſufficient reaſon and juſt ground for the character you have given of them. The obſervations, however, which I have had the opportunity of making of the effects produced *in the country* by theſe ſocieties are of a very different nature; and conſequently lead to a very different concluſion, that of making me *the warm friend* and *very sincere advocate* of them. Since a very early period of the year of 1793, I have been almoſt conſtantly reſident in this place; and previous to my coming here ſeveral years, and at the preſent moment, *a friendly society* exiſts here upon a pretty large ſcale for a country village. It contains about 120 members, who receive the benefit of the funds of the ſociety in the events of accident, ſickneſs, or old-age, and the ſum of *five pounds* to bury each of the members, when called upon to quit this earthly ſcene for a more enduring and perfect one. There are ſeveral of the principal farmers of the pariſh, and of the neighbouring gentry, who are honorary members, and declare on their admittance, that they will not draw upon the funds at any time. Theſe laſt form the committee which manages the funds of the ſociety, and they manage them with the greateſt uprightneſs, impartiality and honour. Other pariſhes beſides this, are permitted to enrol their pariſhioners as members, on ſubſcribing to the rules eſtabliſhed by the ſociety, and faithfully conforming to them. For great and heinous offences members may be expelled the ſociety, for ſmaller offences they are puniſhed in a leſs ſevere manner. "*Contention, impoſition and fraud,*" in our ſociety have never been heard; and the mode of managing the buſineſs of it, makes this a very difficult, I had almoſt ſaid, an impoſſible thing. As an effective bar to *contention*, the buſineſs is managed by indepeudent members, who have no kind of intereſt whatever in any mattter that is brought forward, and no other object in view, than the promotion of happineſs and extenſion of relief to the poor members, in the event of any of the contingencies taking place which have been mentioned. No one can be relieved from the funds of the Society, without having firſt obtained a certificate under my hand, if a pariſhioner of mine, or if not, of the clergyman of the pariſh where the applicant reſides, of his really being in ſuch a ſituation as to be intitled, by the rules of the Society, to relief. This proviſion hath hitherto, in the caſe of our Society effectually prevented

impoſition

impoſition or *fraud*. And, indeed, if impoſition could be proved, the penalty is very ſevere, and with circumſtances of great aggravation, matter of expulſion.

The Legiſlature of this United Kingdom has by no means been inattentive to the intereſts of theſe *Friendly Societies*. Several laws have been made in their favour, and parts of them I have thought it my duty to quote in the annual Sermon which I have delivered on Whitſunday to them. That farther laws might be made in their favour I am ready enough to acknowledge; and, as I think the principle on which they are formed deſerving of every praiſe, ſhould really be happy to ſee ſuch encouraging laws carried into effect.

The manifold advantages which have ariſen to many ſuch members ſince I have been reſident in this place, and which I have made it my buſineſs to acquaint myſelf with, induce me to be the ſteady and warm advocate of them! and to recommend theſe Societies to he patronage of my friends with all the warmth that a conviction of their utility can be ſuppoſed likely to produce.

I cannot omit mentioning one peculiar advantage which I think they poſſeſs, and which I have produced in a prominent point of view upon more than one occaſion of my annual addreſs to them: which is, that the very trifling weekly or monthly contirbutions which they are obliged to pay regularly at ſtated times, on pain of forfeiting all advantages of former contributions, tend very materially to generate an habit of carefulneſs and ſaving which may be of eſſential benefit to them on other occaſions beſides the one now mentioned. The few pence contributed weekly to this Benefit Society would probably be ſpent at the alehouſe, and ſo loſt to themſelves and families; by being obliged to ſave this ſmall matter, they acquire an habit of doing it, and in a little time when they feel its comforts, do it voluntarily and with pleaſure.

Need I add how very uſeful ſuch a principle muſt prove to every poor family? We may learn the advantage of it by contraſting it with the miſery which a drunken father of a family brings on his unhappy wife and children, of which we have, alas! too many examples before our eyes.

I am ſorry that the limits of a letter prevent me from expatiating on a ſubject which has always been very near my heart; and which, managed in the manner I have hinted at, ſeems peculiarly calculated to leſſen the calamities, and to add to the comforts of the ſick and needy brethren of the houſhold of faith.

Let me hope, Sir, that what I have advanced above will induce you to think more favourably of "*Friendly Societies*," eſtabliſhed in the country, than of thoſe which have fallen under your obſervation in the metropolis; and let me alſo hope that ſpeedy and effectual ſteps will be taken to remove thoſe evils which you think you have diſcovered in thoſe London Societies abovementioned.

I am, Sir,

Your conſtant reader and very humble Servant,

THOMAS COMBER.

Creech St. Michael,
July 26, 1805.

POETRY.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

THE following copy of an inſcription on a marble tablet recently placed near the north ſide of the altar in the church of St. Mary, Newington, Surry, may poſſibly be deemed worthy of a place in your valuable miſcellany.

Your's,

Nov. 21, 1805. C. P.

Prope hunc lapidem
Conditum eſt illud omne quod caducum erat
optimæ matrisfamilias
Saræ
Secundæ uxoris peramatæ *Samuelis Horſley, L. L. D.* hujus eccleſiæ per annos multos Rectoris; Menevenſis autem primum, poſt Roſſenſis, nunc Aſaphenſis eccleſiæ Epiſcopi.
Femina ſanctimoniâ præcellens, et morum comitate amabilis, omnibus laudata, cara et jucnnda vixit, mortua lugetur.
Pauperum lacrymæ et pia vota, odorem vere divinum ſpirantia, memoriam ejus condiunt.
Anno ætatis 54to ineunte, feriâ hebdomadis 2da die Aprilis 2°. A. D. 1805. Corpus fragile morbo inſanabili ſuccubuit, cujus, lenté graſſantis, ſævitiam memorando patientiæ exemplo novendecim annos pertulerat.
Viſum eſt *Deo Opt. Max.* clementiſſimo
Vitam, in continuis fermè doloribus actam, morte placidâ, et Spei plenâ, ad excitum perducere:

" Ubi tuus, Mors, aculeus? Ubi tua, Orce, eſt victoria?
" Gloria Deo. - - - - - - - - - Hallelujah!"

Has voces ore moribundo proferens, in morte inſultans morti, pia mulier obdormivit.
Maritus ſuperſtes diem obiit feriâ hebdomadis
menſis die *A. D.* 18 ætat.
Sepultus eſt

Ante uxorem *Saram* in matrimonio habuit *Mariam*, reverendi *Joannis Botham* filiam, quæ viro, dum eaviveret, percara, intra triennii ſpatium a nuptiis morte ei erepta eſt, cum bis peperiſſit. Sepulta jacet juxta parentes ſuos, et ſororem, in cæmeterio eccleſiæ Alburienſis, in agro Surrienſi, cujus eccleſiæ maritus Rector erat. Filiolæ partu ſecundo Editæ, quæ bimula extincta eſt, reliquiæ ſub pavimento ſacroſancti hujus adyti humatæ ſunt. *Filio*, quem priorem mater enixa eſt, vitam prorogavit Dei miſericordia, *Heneagio*, qui vidui patris ſenectutem curis aſſiduis fovebat, ſacerdotium gerens, et eccleſiæ cathedralis paternæ
Præbendarius.
Sibi et ſuis vivens poſuit
Samuel Horſley
A. D. *M DCCC V.*

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